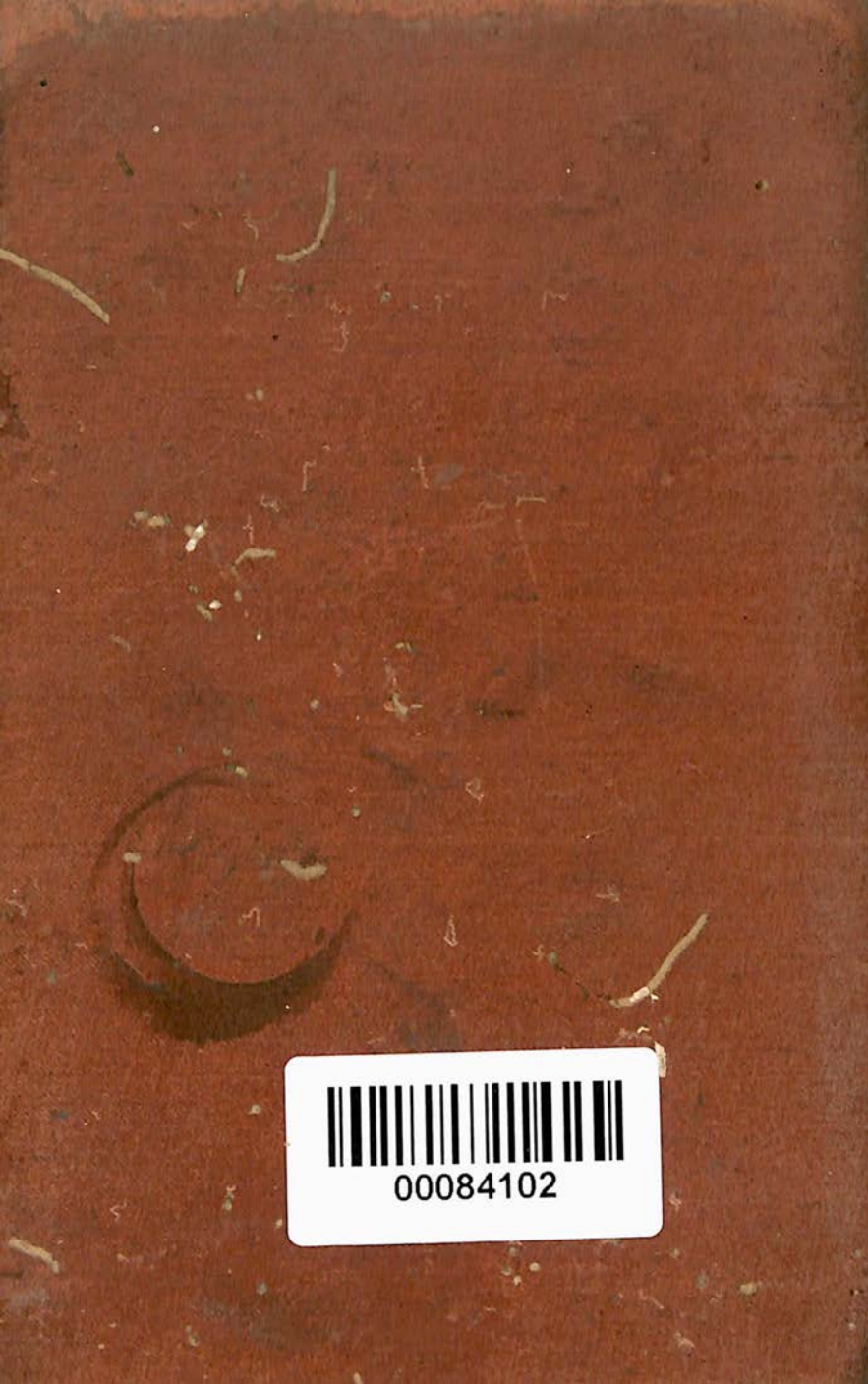
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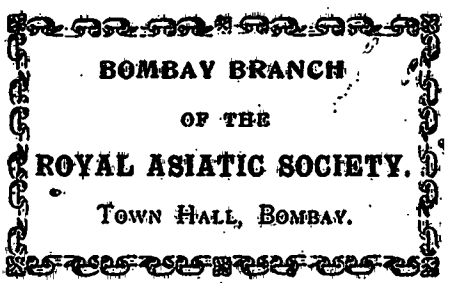

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TOUR IN ITALY.

VOL. I.

Second Edition,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

LIST OF ADDITIONS.

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JOURNAL

OF A

TOUR IN ITALY,

WITH REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION

IN THAT COUNTRY.

84102

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

CANON OF WESTMINSTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The six months that have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of this Journal have made no alteration in the religious condition of Italy, except so far as they have tended to bring matters nearer to a crisis. Italy is now rent asunder by a violent intestine schism. On one side, are the Archbishops and Bishops, bound by oaths of feudal vassalage to the Pope; on the other is the Sovereign of Italy, the People, and a large number of the Clergy.

Although the Roman Pontiff is now confined within a narrow strip of territory, and although the maintenance of his authority

even at Rome itself is dependent on the arms of France, and although Victor Emmanuel is King of all Italy, with the exception of that small Papal domain, and of Venetia which is still subject to Austria, and although Sicily also acknowledges him as her Sovereign, yet by reason of the spiritual dominion exercised by the See of Rome, through the Archbishops and Bishops and Capitular Vicars, (where Bishoprics are vacant,) the power of the King of Italy is almost paralyzed, and the Conqueror of the battle-fields of Magenta and Solferino is resisted and defied by the Papacy in the principal cities of his own Kingdom.

At Milan and at Florence the Sovereign has attempted to exercise his royal prerogative in nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, but his nominations have been set at nought by the Ecclesiastical rulers of those cities, acting under orders from Rome. Victor Emmanuel is King of Italy in name, but in fact, Pius IX., though almost a prisoner in his own city, is, in many important respects, Sovereign Ruler of the Italian Peninsula.

The precarious position in which the temporal Ruler is placed by the dominant sovereignty of the Papacy, and the consequent feebleness of the Italian Government and Italian Parliament, have been also displayed to the world since the first publication of this Journal by an attempt which has been made by a celebrated person, who was once the leading champion of the Papacy, the ex-Jesuit Carlo Passaglia, now a Member of the Italian Parliament at Turin, who endeavoured to prevail on the Legislature to require an Oath of Allegiance to the Crown to be taken by the Clergy of Italy. He showed clearly in his speech in Parliament, on the twenty-third of April last, that the Pope obliges all Italian Bishops to take an Oath of feudal vassalage to himself; and that, as long as that Oath is allowed to be taken, the Bishops of Italy are not and cannot be loyal subjects of the Throne. Indeed, in such a crisis as the present, when the Pope is hostile to the King, they must be placed in violent antagonism to it. He showed that by the power which the Bishops exert

over the inferior Clergy, whom they suspend from the exercise of their office, and thus deprive of their daily bread, on account of their loyalty to the Throne, it is impossible for the Italian Government to be maintained, unless it has the moral courage to strike at the root of the evil, and to require an Oath of allegiance to be taken by all Ecclesiastics, so that no one shall be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, whose loyalty has not been testified and guaranteed by such an engagement.

But Passaglia's efforts were in vain. Passaglia, the ex-Jesuit, the former champion of the Papacy, who knows far better than many politicians where the true strength of the Papacy lies, and who is also well aware that the physical power of Armies is but a feeble thing when opposed to that spiritual Monarchy which domineers over the human conscience, and promises eternal happiness and glory to those who are Confessors and Martyrs in its cause, was unable to induce the Government to engage in a moral conflict, which required more faith and courage, than even

the most violent struggles of mere material force.

Even Passaglia himself, who has mustered an army of 9000 Italian Priests against the *temporal* power of Rome, still shrinks from an attack on its *spiritual* supremacy. He skirmishes against the outposts of the Papacy, but has not yet ventured to assault the citadel. This nobler act of intrepid patriotism has been reserved for priests in Southern Italy. They have appealed to Scripture and Primitive Christian Antiquity, and have boldly challenged Pope Pius IX. to answer these questions:— "Can it be proved from the Word of God and from the History of the Early Church, that the Bishop of Rome has a right to such a *spiritual* supremacy as he now claims? Has he any authority to impose Oaths of vassalage on all Bishops and Priests? Has he authority to prevent the People of Italy from having Bishops, except such as he approves, and whom he binds as subjects to himself?" These are the interrogatories which many of the Neapolitan Clergy are now addressing to Pope

Pius IX.; and together with these questions they are propounding others of scarcely less importance: "Is the Roman Papacy authorized by Holy Scripture or Primitive Antiquity to enforce Celibacy on the Bishops and Priests of Italy? Does not the Roman Breviary need reformation? Do not Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity all concur in testifying that Public Prayers ought not to be in a dead language, and that they cannot rightly be called *Public* Prayers, unless they are offered up in a tongue understood by the People?"

These are questions which are now put to the Papacy by many of the Clergy and Laity of Italy; and the Church of Rome cannot escape the necessity of giving an answer to them.

It is earnestly to be desired for the sake of Rome, Italy, and the World, that these questions may be discussed temperately and calmly without further delay. The intestine strifes and feuds which have been engendered in Italy by the antagonism between the Papacy and the Government, have already been very

disastrous to Religion and Morals. The popular mind is every day becoming more and more estranged from the Church of Rome; and inasmuch as in their view the Church of Rome is identified with Christianity, the People of Italy are verging towards Infidelity; and when Religion has lost its hold over their consciences and their wills, when their passions, exasperated and inflamed by a sense of wrong, are let loose, then Anarchy and Bloodshed will ensue, and a fierce spirit of Anti-christianism, hostile alike to civil and ecclesiastical Government, may be expected to burst forth and rage with unbridled fury. The most exalted Personage in Italy is not insensible of this. He well knows that unless a salutary Reformation can be effected in the Church of Rome, nothing can save Italy from Infidelity and Revolution.

Perhaps those persons who are not engaged in the struggle, and who, even because they are not Italians, cannot be suspected of being swayed by party feelings, or biassed by personal considerations, may in some respects be

able to render essential service in promoting the peace and prosperity of Italy. Not by angry invectives of violent declamation, not by any arrogant dictation of assumed superiority, but by calm and well-considered statements, derived from the records of the past, and especially from the Word of God and from Church History, they may be of some service in preparing the popular mind of Italy for a consideration of the questions which now urgently call for a solution; they may be permitted to labour in this charitable and holy work by the dissemination of accurate information on these questions.

The name of England now stands high in Italy. Englishmen may do much, with God's help, by intelligent sympathy, friendly intercourse, and moral support, to avert the calamities which now threaten that beautiful land; and which, unless they are averted, will inevitably extend themselves to other countries. They may be enabled to promote the cause of sound religion and social order in Italy, Europe, and the World.

The present year is an eventful epoch in the history of the Christian Church.

This year (1863) is the Tercentenary of the promulgation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England[1]. It is also the Tercentenary of the close of the sessions of the Council of Trent.

An appeal may now be made to Three Centuries, for their testimony concerning the principles of doctrine and discipline embodied in the two systems, respectively, of the Church of England and the Church of Rome.

What are the fruits of each? Compare the condition of England and Italy at this time. In England we can now point to a National Church, identified, in desire at least, with the English People. We can now point to a loyal Episcopate and a patriotic Clergy. We can point to the homes of the English Clergy, adorned with Christian graces and household

[1] In our Books of Common Prayer they bear the date 1562, but this is *old style;* and the first edition was printed in 1563.

virtues; and in many cases, God be thanked, those households are sources of many blessings, spiritual and temporal, to the Parishes in which they dwell.

But in Italy we see the Episcopate engaged, under the Papacy, in a violent conflict with the Monarchy. We see an unnational and anti-national Episcopate. We see the Clergy of Italy divided into two parts. One section is opposed to the Bishops and to the rest of their own brethren; the other section is struggling against the Crown, the Parliament, and the People. The annual National Festival of the Italian Constitution, on the first Sunday in June, which ought to be a bond of National Unity, and a day of National Joy and Thanksgiving, and of Religious Loyalty and Patriotism, is a continual occasion of national discord, and of a renewal of those mediæval feuds of Ghibellines and Guelphs which deluged Italy with blood.

Whatever other moral, therefore, may be derived from the spectacle before us, and from a contemplation of these two Tercentenaries.

of England and Rome, we see in the condition of England and Italy at the present time a striking practical evidence of the wisdom which guided our own Forefathers in clearing the Church of England from the corruptions of Rome, and in delivering the State as well as the Church of England from her usurpations. And we see a strong motive for thankfulness to God for the benefits which He then bestowed upon us, by their means; and for zeal, faithfulness, and courage, in maintaining these benefits, and in transmitting them to posterity; and we may well unite in an earnest desire and prayer, that on this present Tercentenary of the close of the sessions of the Council of Trent, the Crown and the People of Italy may join with the Bishops and Clergy of that country in an earnest inquiry, whether the principles of Reformation adopted in England three centuries ago are not entitled to consideration, and perhaps also to adoption; not because they are *our* principles, but because they are grounded on the foundation of Holy Scripture, as interpreted

by the consent and practice of the Ancient Church; and because they brought the Church of England more nearly to what the Church of Italy herself was in primitive times, when she shone most brightly, and was a blessing and example to other Churches of Christendom.

Cloisters, Westminster,
July 29, 1863.

While engaged upon this Preface, I received from an Italian friend,—who is in holy orders in the Church of Rome,—a communication on the present religious condition of Italy. The following is a translation of it. If some of the sentiments in it should appear to be expressed with warmth and vehemence, the candid reader will make due allowance for one who cannot but feel deeply and speak strongly on what affects the dearest interests of his country:—

The Present State of Religion in Italy.

HAVING learnt from experience, especially from facts which are now occurring in Italy, we may confidently assert, that the design of the Court of Rome to destroy evangelical principles in the hearts of its votaries, has been completely attained. Fears of the Inquisition, and of its persecutions, have deterred the minds of the people from serious inquiries into the doctrines taught by the Roman clergy, and into their fatal consequences. The pure religion of the Gospel, and the institutions of the ancient Church have been forgotten. On the other hand, the maxims of Pope Gregory VII., supported by the canons of the Council of Trent, and by the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine, which deify the Pope, and make him a despot upon earth, have been animated with new life. The blessed Virgin has been proclaimed as queen of heaven, without taint of original sin, and has been placed in the stead of Jesus Christ; and almost all the devotion and all the prayers of the Roman Church are directed to her. At the present day she is declared to be "*Co-Redeemer*" of the world, as the Bishop of Mondovi calls her in his work entitled "*Un Anello*," &c. &c.

Now-a-days many of the clergy are capable of doing little else but commending to the people the worship of the blessed Virgin, who, they say, replies to their addresses by opening her eyes or shedding tears, like the Madonna of Spoleto, or Rimini, or by conversing in the woods with rustic shepherdesses, like our Lady of La Salette. The clergy avail themselves of such superstí-

tions as these to collect funds under the title of *la Propagazione della Fede* or *l'innocente Infanzia*, by which they enrich themselves, or fill the coffers of the *obolo di S. Pietro* to maintain brigands[2].

Ever since the glory of the papal throne has been impaired by the diminution of its territory, it has hurled maledictions and excommunications against King Victor Emmanuel and the Italian Nation, and has lent a helping hand to conspiracies and rebellions. The clergy in the provinces have set themselves to write political-religious journals, and availing themselves of the liberty of the press, conceded by the Italian Constitution, have filled their columns with shameless calumnies. They have preached, and still preach, civil discord, revenge private and public, and sanguinary rage, instead of Christian love. And, as if this were not enough, they have endeavoured to corrupt the soldiers of the Crown, and have excited them to desertion. Hence the courts of justice have been occupied in legal proceedings against friars and priests accused of corrupting the troops, and the prisons have been filled with criminals of this description.

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[2] In the month of July, 1863, five notorious captains of brigands, going from Rome, and bearing a Roman passport from the Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, in which one of them was described as an "industriante," and recommended to public protection, were arrested by the authorities of the Italian government on board the French steamer the *Aunis*.

Some parish priests have used the excommunications fulminated by the Pope against the present state of affairs, in order to disturb the consciences of the dying, and have denied them the consolations of religion unless they made retractation. Rome has become the centre of reaction and conspiracies, and brigands issue from her, who carry fire and slaughter into the South of Italy. From her also go forth the collectors of Peter's Pence to subsidize the arms of the Pope. The bishops of Italy, being engaged in promoting the cause of the Pope, their master, are forgetful of their sacred office as pastors of the Church, and throw obstacles in the way of government, and stir up anger and strife among the flock committed to their care. But they have lost their ancient influence, and incur criminal lawsuits, commenced by the government against them in its own defence, and to hinder greater evils. Cardinal De Angelis, Archbishop of Fermo, is now confined at Turin, with another bishop, for political reasons; and the Cardinal Archbishop of Pisa was in confinement for some months on the charge of fomenting discord in his diocese. The Archbishop of Spoleto converted a pastoral letter into a violent Philippic against the king and government, exciting the people to rebellion, and is now in prison. Some also of the bishops of the South of Italy are in prison for political causes, and several of them are fugitives from their dioceses.

In the mean time what has become of Christianity?

If it were not too bold to make such an assertion, I should say that in many quarters it is almost dead. The shepherds of Christ's flock are intent on earthly things;

they endeavour to dazzle and divert the people with pompous processions and gaudy festivals, or to fill their imaginations with superstitious dreams. But the healthful pastures of salvation are abandoned. The sheep of Christ are not nourished with the food of the Gospel. Both high and low allow their eyes and ears to be fascinated with religious spectacles, but do not amend their lives. The middle classes are becoming sceptical and incredulous, and throw, as it were, together into one promiscuous heap of confusion the temporal power of the Pope, the worship of the Virgin and the saints, the Christian faith and sacraments, and they assert them all to be only a shop of secular traffic, by means of which money and power may be gotten by the clergy.

Still here are the elements of Reformation. The knowledge of evil often prepares the way for the examination of good. In the midst of much corruption there are not a few hearts open to truth. Wherever a zealous and pious missionary goes forth and preaches the pure truths of the Gospel, his words are not unfruitful. One proof of this may be seen in the various congregations of Vaudois in many cities of Italy. A Roman Catholic priest, Don Ambrogio, having been instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England, began to preach in the streets of Italian cities, and to expose the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and obtained much favour with the public. The Roman Catholic priesthood has succeeded several times in having him arrested, tried, and condemned. The government itself at first lent its aid against him; but his cause has been heard, and his preaching has been declared to be not contrary to law,

and he now continues his efforts with ever-increasing popularity.

There seems to be wanting only an electric shock to awaken the national mind; and sufficient authority to give a steady beginning to Reformation, which may lead back the Church of Italy to her primitive condition and ancient order.

At first it seemed probable that Padre Passaglia had the requisite qualities for such an enterprise: he wrote and is still writing the *Mediatore*, a weekly, and *La Pace*, a daily paper, directed against the *temporal* power of the Pope. But he highly exalts the Pope's *spiritual* dominion. The temporal power of the Papacy is maintained by the spiritual; and they cannot exist asunder. Passaglia, having been elected a deputy, endeavoured in Parliament to impose a restraint on the dominion of Rome, by obliging the clergy to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown, when invested with any ecclesiastical office[3].

However great the corruptions of the Church of Rome may be, it must be remembered, that many of the clergy are desirous of reform. Indeed, for the most part, the

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[3] This act of Passaglia entailed on him the loss of the friendship and protection of the Marchese di Cavour, in whose mansion he was living when visited by the author of this Journal (Vol. ii. p. 257); but he was forced to leave it in consequence of this measure against the Papacy, which has a warm supporter in the present representative of the house of Cavour.

inferior clergy differ widely in their opinions from the Hierarchy, and are often opposed to the Episcopate. Many parish priests, professors, and other learned ecclesiastics, who derive their knowledge from sacred Scripture and Church history, are at variance with those Bishops and Dignitaries who are deficient in such doctrine. Passaglia placed himself at the head of this portion of the clergy when he issued his famous Address to Pius IX., which was signed by 9000 priests, who entreated the Pope to renounce his temporal power. Passaglia, not being supported by the Italian government, was unable or unwilling to carry out his project, and abandoned it. Otherwise it was in his power to have produced a schism, of which the Court of Rome stands in great dread, and now all the more because this religious division has begun with the Church of Milan.

The clergy of that noble city has been long divided into two sections; the more intelligent among them proclaim a desire to return to the Ambrosian ritual and principles. Their opponents are devoted to Rome and her decrees, nor is a foreign yoke displeasing to them.

The Church of Milan is now without an Archbishop, and is governed by a *Vicario Capitolare*, Monsignore Caccia, of a rich and noble Milanese family. Three canonries at Milan in the royal presentation were lately to be filled up. Victor Emmanuel nominated three very worthy persons to these canonries; the Vicario resisted, and refused investiture to them. Fierce litigation has ensued; but the government has caused the revenues of the canonries to be paid to its nominees. The case is

still pending. Such a question might have been carried to desperate lengths, if Rome had not prudently curbed the impetuosity of its own representative. At the last national festival of the *Statuto*, or Italian constitution, the *Vicario* ordered that the *Te Deum* should not be sung in the cathedral, but the canons refused to obey him, and they would have been suspended by him *à divinis*, if Rome herself, reflecting on the schism which would infallibly have ensued, had not prevented this act of ecclesiastical discipline. Of the 498 parishes which are contained in the province of Milan, 308 celebrated the *Statuto* on the 7th of June last with religious ceremonies, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Archbishop's representative, Monsignore Caccia. To gain a better understanding of the questions by which the Church of Milan is now agitated, it may be useful to consult a recently-published work entitled, "*Le piaghe della Chiesa di Milano*," "the wounds of the Church of Milan." In it the reader is made acquainted with the disputes and difficulties which now disturb it. And if matters proceed as they are now doing, they must very soon come to a crisis.

Having mentioned the wounds of the Church, I am reminded of the recent meeting of Cardinals and Bishops at Trent in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Tridentine Council. Not much concord, it seems, prevailed among these prelates; and they abstained from declaring the necessity of the Pope's temporal power as a dogma of the Church. The people of Trent desired to show what the needs of the Church really were, and despatched to this Episcopal conclave a number of copies of Rosmini's "*Le cinque piaghe della Chiesa*" for distribution

among the Cardinals and Bishops. But their wishes not being fulfilled, the work was reprinted, and a copy was sent by post to each member of the assembly. The Archbishop of Trent, offended by such a procedure, published, a few days since, a pastoral letter complaining bitterly of it, and denouncing it as an insult to such distinguished guests and high dignitaries of the Church.

In the midst of such a conflict of opinions and of worldly interests, Morals and Religion decline and decay among us.

It was asserted in the sixteenth century that the Papal power was most strenuously defended by the least virtuous among the clergy. If a priest preaches up the glory of the Vatican, and Papal Infallibility, and divinizes the Roman Pontiff, he may live almost as he lists, with impunity as far as the Papacy is concerned. In the month of May last the public was scandalized by an exposure of the profligacies perpetrated in the *Collegio di S. Primitivo* at Turin, by the *Brothers of Christian Doctrine*, called *Ignorantelli*. The government inquired into the charges brought against them, arrested the Provincial and five of the Professors. The pupils, three hundred in number, of the highest families of society, were sent to their respective homes, and the college was closed. The Provincial has been condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment. The charges, which were too clearly proved, are such as cannot be described.

The discovery of these flagrant enormities has produced a deep impression not only at Turin, but in all Italy. A similar exposure has been made in the seminary at

Caserta. Another *Collegio* has been closed at Turin; and the *Brothers of Christian Doctrine* have been ejected from the schools of public instruction at Ravenna. These and other evidences of the most abandoned profligacy have confirmed the public persuasion that the Church of Rome is chargeable with great moral and religious guilt in imposing celibacy on the clergy.

It may now be asked, are there not some means available for restoring the Gospel to Italy, and for bringing about a Reformation of the Roman Church? And if so, have these means been adopted?

These two questions are hard to solve.

We see what results have been already obtained, and we may thence draw some conclusions as to the future. Any one who ventured to speak of religious Reformation thirty years ago would have been denounced as a madman, or perhaps imprisoned and punished as a criminal. The very name of the Holy Bible was rarely pronounced among the learned, and Evangelical Truth seemed like a hateful thing. Now the aspect of things is changed. The Bible is widely circulated; the English Book of Common Prayer, translated into Italian, is read and cherished in many Italian households; the words "Church Reform" are in the mouths of all. It is demanded even by the Clergy themselves. The idolatries introduced among devotees are comparatively rare among the people. The French themselves, who overrun Italy with their new religious Institutions, only find favour with some of the ancient nobility, or with the Bishops and higher Clergy, who hope to impede by their means

the progress of the spirit of the age, and bring it back to mediæval darkness.

But in order that we may make some advance towards true religious reformation, the movements of the Italian Evangelical Societies must be organized in such a manner that they may not run counter to each other. The *Darbesi*, the *Vaudois*, the *Plymouthists*, the *Apostolici*, and such like, being antagonistic to each other, will only produce confusion. No other than an organized Episcopal Church can be constituted in Italy. No other religious bodies are conformable with, or adapted to, the national mind of Italy.

In this short historical sketch I have only adverted to the Church of Northern Italy, but much might be said concerning that of Central and Southern Italy. In Florence the Archbishop is hostile to the present Government, and has recently refused investiture to Canonico. B——, whom the King (in whose patronage it is) had nominated to a mitred Canonry at San Lorenzo.

In Naples, the Archbishop having fled to Rome, the disaffected Clergy are constantly showing their ill-will to the Government.

But in Tuscany the Gospel has begun to be preached in the country, as well as in the cities; and at Naples the doctrines of the Reformation are beginning to make way even among the multitude. Some Associations of Priests disposed for Reformation were formed, but not being supported by the Government, they were of short duration. But let us wait with faith and patience, and the Spirit of the Lord will diffuse itself more copiously,

and the Way of Truth, Salvation, and Peace may ere long be opened to us.

I have not spoken here of the confusion reigning in the various Dioceses of the Kingdom of Italy which are now deprived of their Bishops. Many Bishops have died of old age, and many have fled to Rome, and their flocks being left without counsellor or guide, are a prey to the strangest philosophical reveries, or the wildest and most fanatical superstitions. This has no effect on the mind of the Pope and his conclave of Cardinals. Firmly resolved not to recognize the King of Italy, the Pope refuses to allow any of the King's appointments and promotions to Episcopal or other dignities in the Kingdom of Italy; and incites the Bishops and the Generals of the Religious Orders to leave no means untried for stirring up disaffection to the Crown. But these endeavours being made public have served to expose the true character of the Papacy. According to the *Patria* of Naples, the Papal General of a Monastic Order has dictated the following instructions to the heads of the different families of his order. "Let persons be affiliated to us from among both regular and secular Clergy. Let every instrument be used, and let nothing remain untried in the confessional, the pulpit, and at the altar, to destroy this godless Government, whose only object is to subvert the religion of our Fathers. Confession is a most potent means for acquiring a knowledge of families. Let the female heart be judiciously sounded, which either from want of culture or from natural weakness, if great discretion is used, will respond to the appeals of the Church."

When men of dignity, wisdom, and faith are placed at the head of the Italian Government, and when pious, learned and zealous Ecclesiastics, unfettered by oaths to the Papacy, are promoted to the Episcopal Sees now vacant in Italy, they will be enabled by the help of God to give free course to the Gospel, and to bring back the scattered sheep to the fold of Jesus Christ.

The following Letter from an intelligent English friend, who is intimately acquainted with the present state of religion in Italy, did not reach me till the Second Edition of the "Tour in Italy" had passed through the Press. It is too interesting a communication to be withheld from public notice, and therefore, with the writer's kind permission, it is inserted here.

C. W.

September 2, 1863.

Dear Canon Wordsworth,

You asked for some account of what I observed of the progress of religious and educational movements during our recent rambles in Italy.

First, I noticed, with great thankfulness, that our friends amongst the liberal Priests, and others, with whom I had become acquainted on former visits, were gradually but decidedly advancing in their ideas respecting the urgent need of Reforms in the Church, and in

their desire to promote them. This I found to be the case on revisiting Florence, Naples, and other places. During this last winter we traversed Italy from Piedmont to Sicily; and I can testify that in the various provinces of Northern, Central, and Southern Italy that we have visited, I am personally acquainted with Priests and Laymen who have expressed their conviction that such Reforms as the following ought to be carried out, viz.:—

(1.) Full and free restoration of the Bible to all classes of the Laity.

(2.) Restoration of the Liturgy in the vernacular tongue.

(3.) Abolition of the enforced Celibacy of the Priesthood.

(4.) Restoration of the ancient independent Diocesan rights of the Bishops, in lieu of their present vassalage to Rome; also the rights of Clergy and Laity in Diocesan Synods and general management of Church affairs.

You know how strongly and how well Perfetti has spoken upon such points as these in "Il Clero e la Società." I am convinced from all I have seen during the last three winters, that Perfetti has but expressed the feeling of a large and growing number of Italians, specially amongst the lower Clergy and intelligent Laymen, who are alive to the necessity of such reforms as these, if the Church is to be preserved in Italy, and Italy itself preserved from wide-spread unbelief.

In numerous instances these persons have manifested remarkable readiness to receive sympathy and information from members of the Church of England. They have gladly accepted, and helped to circulate, copies of the

Italian Version of the Book of Common Prayer, with other publications showing the real character of the Reformed Episcopal Church, a subject on which a marvellous amount of ignorance and misrepresentation has hitherto existed in the minds of Italians, as well as other foreign Roman Catholics. You are aware that through the aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Anglo-Continental Association for making known the Principles of the English Church, considerable numbers of these publications have been circulated in Italy during the last three years. During this last winter I could not but feel thankful to see that the seed thus sown was, in several instances, manifestly yielding good fruit,—in increase of sympathy with the Reformed Episcopal Church, in the removal of misapprehensions, and in the promotion of a desire for analogous Reforms in the Church in Italy.

I was also very thankful to witness the great readiness with which many persons welcomed publications recalling Italians to the remembrance, and need of resumption, of the ancient and undoubted rights of the People, Clergy, and Bishops, according to the laws and usages of the Church in earlier ages in Italy.

This was the case, in a striking degree, with those "Three Letters" you have reproduced at the end of your "Journal," "on the present Conflict between the Court of Rome and the Kingdom of Italy."

On one occasion I witnessed the keen appreciation of these Letters by a knot of Ecclesiastics, who said, "This is just the sort of seed that ought to be sown far and wide through the country." In the course of a few days

these same men spread several hundred copies amongst the various Cathedral Dignitaries, Parochial Clergy, and others, in their own diocese and neighbourhood.

I have also good reason to believe that these Letters have made considerable impression on the minds of many Laymen in influential positions in Turin and elsewhere.

Though published in Turin, I traced their influence far away. One evening in Naples I chanced to be dining at a table-d'hôte alongside two Italian Cavalry Officers. After chatting on a variety of topics, our talk fell upon Church matters. One said, "We should have had a schism in Italy before this time if we were not so generally indifferent; we have grown so disgusted with the actual condition of the Church, that too many of us leave religion to the Priests and Monks, and content ourselves with thinking it enough to be a 'Galantuomo,' do no harm to our neighbour, and do what little good and charity we can, and there's an end of it."

The other spoke so clearly and strongly on the need of Church Reform, and returning to the ancient rights of People and Clergy, that I was quite struck, and remarked that he appeared to have studied such subjects carefully; he said he had lately fallen in with an "Opuscolo," published in Turin, which so thoroughly expressed his own ideas, that he could have fancied he had been writing it. This "Opuscolo" proved to be those "Letters."

More than once in Naples, and in the neighbourhood, Priests told me they had been spreading them amongst their neighbours.

In Palermo I witnessed a striking scene,—an erratic fiery "Son of Etna," as he called himself, one of the

volunteer chaplains on Garibaldi's expedition, came to ask if I could procure him copies of these Letters,—he had read them with deep interest, and said he longed to preach their ideas. He carried off all I could get him, fifty or sixty copies, and distributed them amongst his friends a few days before a great public meeting, at which he was to be one of the speakers. The object of the meeting was to express sympathy with Poland, but he said he wished also to speak on the necessity of religious Reform, and return to primitive Catholicism, for the freedom and independence of Italy itself. The meeting was held in the Church of the Dominicans, the largest public building in the city. The monks told me they estimated that 7000 persons were present. All classes came, and nothing could exceed the good order in which all was conducted; but when our fiery friend, in no feeble terms, contrasted Rome as she is, with what the Church of Rome was in her primitive purity, and with what she ought to return to; and again, when he dwelt upon the urgent necessity of bringing back the Clergy to their right position in society, and allowing them to fulfil their duties as heads of families and loyal citizens, the vehement applauses from all parts of this great gathering completely drowned his voice. Now I am free to confess I should pay but little heed to the individual opinion and weight of this speaker; but when I saw such a large assembly eagerly drinking in and vehemently applauding his words, I could not but feel that he was to a great extent their mouthpiece, and that there must be plenty of soil ready to receive such seed. The Dominicans spoke to me afterwards with great approval of this speech.

Whilst in the South I received from a friend a copy of some excellent Letters on the celibacy of the Clergy, also published in Turin. I felt sure they would be generally appreciated, and wrote for a number, but found that the impression was exhausted. It appeared that the men and boys who cry journals for sale in the streets of Turin had sold them very readily. The same was the case, I believe, with other Letters on the restoration of the Liturgy to the vernacular tongue, and the Cup to the Laity. I understand that several thousand copies of this series of Letters have been spread throughout Italy during this last winter.

Whilst on this subject, I must not forget to add that our excellent friend, Count T——, has lately been actively exerting himself in spreading throughout the Diocese of Milan and adjacent dioceses, a telling brochure on the ancient independence of the Churches of North Italy. This has met with the reception he anticipated: much commendation from his liberal readers amongst Priests and People, mingled with scornful rejection of any idea of return to such ancient independence on the part of the Ultramontane party. Several of the Lombard journals have favourably noticed the work, as also have Perfetti and others at a distance.

In Sicily the peculiar privilege won from the Pope by Roger the Norman, whereby the Kings of Sicily have continued to be the hereditary Legates Apostolic of the Pope, with power of restricting all communications between Rome and the Church in Sicily to the one channel of the King's Ecclesiastical Vicar, so that no bull or rescript can be published, or dispensation granted, without

the royal consent, has, I believe, certainly tended to keep alive a somewhat greater spirit of independence of Rome amongst the Sicilian clergy and people, than amongst their brethren on the mainland. I heard Sicilians who were far enough from sympathizing with the Bourbons, yet give them credit for having withstood the urgent solicitations of the present Pope, and his recent predecessors, who appear to have been keenly anxious to induce them to renounce this privilege. I was struck with the way in which a Sicilian gentleman of high position, taking a part in public affairs, spoke of his belief that the best thing for Italy, and the readiest solution of the Roman difficulty would be, to do as we did, and throw off dependence upon Rome. "All of us to become Protestants," he said.

Another Layman, whose official position and personal connexions give him good opportunities of knowing the mind of Sicilians, said, "I can't tell how it may be on the mainland, but I feel convinced that Sicily will become Protestant." An English friend who has resided several years in Sicily told me that he found much liberality of thought amongst some of the Priests with whom he came in contact, and that he found them ahead of the people in their ideas of the necessity of religious reforms. So far as my personal observation went, this was fully confirmed, for I have nowhere come in contact with Priests more thoroughly disposed to adopt such reforms as those mentioned in the beginning of this letter, than some Priests I met in Sicily. Several of these men were engaged in important positions in public education.

In Sicily, as in the rest of Italy, colporteurs are now

openly employed in the sale of Bibles and religious books. In the country, the general ignorance of the population, scarcely any of whom can read, would preclude much demand; but in the principal towns—Palermo, Messina, and Catania—I understood there was a fair demand. One young colporteur, who was visiting those places whilst I was in the country, told me that in five weeks he sold 120 Bibles—all he had—with a fair number of other religious books; including several copies of Jewell's "Apology" and Bishop Bull's "Corruptions of Rome;" which have also found a ready sale in Naples. He could have sold more Bibles if he had had them: many he sold in the caffés. I did not learn that any attempts had been made in Sicily to form Protestant congregations, except in Palermo, where the Vaudois have made a beginning with some effect. The liberal feeling of the Sicilian Clergy was shown in their general sympathy with Garibaldi's expedition, and adherence to the new order of things. This seems to have induced the Government to defer interference with the Church property in the island. The suppression of Monasteries had not commenced in Sicily, though it was very shortly expected. "We feel our life is very short," said a Benedictine to me, on visiting his convent, one of the finest in the country; "and so, as you may see, we don't take any pains to repair our buildings,—for we know we may any day expect orders from the Government to turn out."

These Benedictines did not appear to share in the literary pursuits which have so nobly distinguished their brethren of Monte Cassino. So far as I could gather, the suppression of Monasteries would meet with little or

no objection. There is more feeling in favour of some of the convents of Nuns, as well as of some of those of the Mendicant orders.

On returning to Naples, I was struck with the eager interest in Bible-reading which had recently sprung up in the island of Ischia. Some visitors in the island had found a noticeable disposition among the people to receive copies of the Scriptures, and inquire into their contents. This received a great impulse, one day, in an unexpected manner. Many, who take an interest in the religious condition of Italy, will recognize, without my naming him, an old English gentleman, whose venerable appearance and affectionate warmth of manner carry his simple words with great force to the hearts of all who come across him, and convince them of his single-hearted, loving earnestness. He generally carries his Italian Bible in his pocket, and avails himself of any opportunity for winning attention to some simple message from God's Word, though he will never enter into controversy. Whilst he was spending a few days with some convalescent relatives on the island, they went to visit a private chapel in the palazzo of one of the principal inhabitants. This chapel contains a very beautiful group of sculpture. The subject is a Scriptural one. They were very courteously received by the family; some members of which had previously shown themselves favourably disposed to inquire about the Scriptures. Whilst admiring the group of sculpture, the old gentleman took out his Bible, merely to read out the passage explanatory of it. As he was reading, several friends and neighbours of the family dropped in. His first thought was that they

probably would not be pleased at finding him thus engaged, and that he had better stop; but, reflecting that he was simply reading God's Word, without any additions of his own, or any thing likely to wound their feelings by attacking them, he finished. The new comers, and all present, listened very attentively, and, as soon as he had done, earnestly begged him to come again and read and explain to them.

"We have never had this book," they said, "and have never listened to it so reverently read in our own tongue; and we feel it is what we have great need of." He demurred, however, to their request; for he had arranged to return to Naples, and felt that probably their wish was a passing one, and by no means felt clear that it would be desirable for him to act upon it, so he left without any promise to return: but a few days afterwards he saw some of the party again, and they so earnestly pressed him to come and read with them again that he no longer felt it right to refuse, so he agreed to meet them the next day, Sunday afternoon. On arriving at the house, he found a little assembly of relatives and friends, and, after the usual greetings, asked, "Shall we have our reading here?"—in the room in which they received him. "Oh, no!" they said; "we've got the chapel ready; come up to that." So up they went, and found seats arranged. He said his first impulse was to thank God for having put into their hearts the desire to hear His Word. He then read some portion, talked simply to them upon it, and prayed with them. They were greatly impressed, and sent off to Naples to procure Bibles for themselves. The feeling spread amongst the

neighbours, and fresh supplies of Bibles were procured. The Priests took up the matter, and preached vigorously against "the heretical movement;" but this only helped on the spirit of inquiry. Animated discussions took place in various houses—sometimes with visitors in the streets—and a general interest was roused through the island. Here also, as elsewhere, the conviction that the countries in which the Bible has free course are also the countries of most freedom, worked in many minds and helped on the movement.

The winter before last I witnessed, in Naples, another striking instance of the eager interest in Bible-reading which is not unfrequently felt, for a time at all events, amongst those who have been debarred from the free use of the Word of God. Public conferences were held, on two evenings in the week, in the refectory of an old convent, which at that time was occupied as a day school for the boys of the "Free Evangelical" converts from Rome, and also as a night school for adults, on four evenings in the week; Public Worship being held in it on Sundays. This room would hold 250 men, when closely filled. It was crowded during these conferences, which were ably presided over by an advocate—Signor Albarella—now holding an important post under Government at Campobasso. Subjects for discussion were announced, and the attendance of Priests specially desired. The first subject was, "Does the Bible, or does it not, condemn the worship of Images and Pictures?" You know the degree to which the use of images and pictures prevails in Neapolitan churches. The discussion continued for four or five weeks. A Priest entered heartily

into it, and stated, with great moderation, the views of the Church of Rome. At the conclusion, the President ably summed up the arguments brought forward on both sides, and then called on the assembly to declare their opinion by a show of hands. Four or five only sided with the Priest; all the rest voted that the Bible clearly condemned the practice. I need not add that all these men are lost to Rome. The next subject brought forward was the Romish doctrine of the "Real Presence in the Lord's Supper." It was impossible not to feel carried back to the keen discussions that we read of as agitating our own country during the Reformation struggles, as one looked round on this crowded gathering of men of all ranks and classes, and watched the earnest, eager manner in which they listened—Bible in hand, many of them—to the various speakers, as these rose from different parts of the room, to read and comment on the passages, bearing on different phases of the subject, which they had evidently been carefully studying at home. I was immensely struck with the acuteness—metaphysical subtlety I may almost call it—of the arguments of many of these men. They appeared to me to possess a singularly keen logical power of penetrating and sifting a subject; greater, I thought, than would usually be shown in popular discussions amongst ourselves. This was combined, of course, with the fervency of expression inherent in their southern temperaments. They spoke with great warmth occasionally, though all was conducted with the utmost good order and decorum. At times, in discussing the *physical* consequences flowing from Rome's dogma of the corporeal presence (viz. in

connexion with the reception and digestion of the material Body and Blood), expressions were used which were jarring and painful; but it was impossible not to feel that these were but the inevitable results of re-action from Rome's unhappy attempt to push her definitions beyond the warranty of Scripture. I left Naples before that course was concluded, but I shall not soon lose the impression these scenes made on me. Here were men gathered from every rank of life—workmen, shopkeepers, professional men, officers, &c.—(I remember one captain, in full uniform, speaking with great force)—all coming, with the Bible in their hands, and showing unflagging interest in these discussions for three hours at a time; yet only two years before scarcely one of these men could or would have dared to read the Bible openly; in fact, could not have done it without risk of imprisonment. Now one saw the strength of the under-current of doubt as to Rome's claims and teaching, which broke out as soon as the double pressure she had so skilfully wielded in Church and State was in a measure removed. Sometimes these scenes reminded one of St. Paul's work in Corinth, when he "separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school" with them; and though far from wishing to push such a parallel too far, I could not but feel deeply thankful that, in one respect, a similar result was following, viz. that many in that region "heard the Word of the Lord Jesus." These discussions laid the foundation of a regular congregation, now under charge of an able Vaudois Pastor—Signor Appia. There is also a smaller congregation, under the care of Marchese Cresi. On last Easter Day, I understood that 160 adults from

these congregations joined together in the celebration of the Holy Communion. I have sometimes asked Roman Catholic Priests, in Italy, why they do not meet these movements by coming forward themselves, taking in hand the Bible in the vernacular, and inviting their people to meet them in Bible classes, or otherwise, for friendly conference and instruction; thus taking the wind out of their opponents' sails by showing that they themselves have no dread of full and free Scriptural inquiry to test their system. I have never found any one who felt that this could be compatible with their existing system. One earnest Parish Priest expressed what, I believe, many feel, when he said to me, "I must own that the *Court* of Rome"—he gravely corrected himself and said, "I must own the *Church* of Rome has too long kept the Bible out of the hands of the people, for fear they should have the means of judging whether we Priests walk in the right path or not." I saw, just now, that a French correspondent of the "Journal des Débats" mentioned the starting of a new journal, "The Conscience," in Naples, for full discussion of religious topics. He bemoans the inability or unwillingness of the Clergy to take their part, and show that "Catholicism" ought to gain by free inquiry, but says that the present bearing of the Priests is tending to alienate people from the Church rather than conciliate to it.

It is sometimes said on behalf of Rome that she shows no dread of the Bible, because she entrusts it to her most carefully trained and learned members—those, therefore, who are specially capable of effectively testing her by it, and wielding it against her; but ought it not to

be added that these are precisely the men who have previously undergone the longest and most careful training of implicit subjection to her; whose minds have been moulded in her Ecclesiastical seminaries, and their necks bowed under her yoke, for many long years before they are entrusted with the Bible?—so that, generally speaking, they come to its perusal and study with the deeply-rooted conviction that any thing they gather from it must be erroneous and dangerous, if not completely in accordance with her ruled interpretation? I have been constantly assured by Italian Priests that, as a rule, in their Episcopal seminaries students rarely possess a copy of the Scriptures; and that their knowledge of them (exclusive of the portions recited in Church Offices) is generally confined to such passages as are adduced in theological lectures, until *after* they are ordained Priests. As a fact, I know that some of the most effective "Free Evangelical" preachers in Italy are men who have been led out of Rome by careful study of the Bible, *after* having been ordained Priests, and even placed in charge of parishes.

I am far from desiring to lay undue stress on the efficacy of Bible-reading apart from living teaching; but no one who knows what has been the effect of earnest Bible-reading in the case of individuals in Italy, who had previously been debarred from it, can help feeling deeply thankful for the undoubted blessing that, in many cases, has attended it.

An English gentleman, a large employer of Italian labour, having some hundreds of men at work under him,

told me that in his neighbourhood a movement had been going on, meetings of very simple character for Bible-reading and prayer were held; no regular preacher was settled there; and my friend did not feel it his duty to take any part in the proceedings, but, he said, "I have no need to ask which of my men have become interested in this movement, for I can now always tell them,—they are more thoughtful, steady, and trusty in every way than they were before. Their organization and system seems very feeble, but they appear to be men who have learned to value God's word, and to be honestly and earnestly trying to guide their lives by it."

I could give you similar instances of persons whose hearts have been touched, and their lives influenced, in the same way. I think you know Professor Vincenzo Botta, whose able "Discourse on Count Cavour" you have quoted (Journal of Tour in Italy, vol. ii. p. 271). I had the pleasure of meeting him again in Naples, and was much struck with his impression of the readiness of the educated classes in Naples to interest themselves in the religious and moral questions now affecting the future of the country. He said, "In the other great cities of Italy, I have found men engaged in public affairs, and others, ready enough to take keen interest in political and financial questions, and in all that touches the political and material progress of the country; but when one touched upon moral and religious aspects of the progress of Italy, they generally put these topics quickly aside, and seemed little disposed to trouble themselves about them in the present crisis. In Naples, on the contrary,

I have found discussion of such topics gladly welcomed and keenly appreciated[1]." Professor Botta drew my attention to some able articles in the "Rivista Napolitana," on the relations between Church and State. These showed the difficulties in the way of working out Cavour's famous saying, "Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato," *if the Church of Rome, as she is*, should be allowed unlimited freedom in the State. This "Rivista" is a new Literary, Scientific, and Political publication, coming out three times a month. The Editor is a man of high repute for ability and attainments. These articles were written in a thoughtful, calm tone and style, entirely free from the personal bitterness which, unfortunately, too often marks Italian journals.

I was sorry to find that a variety of circumstances had concurred to throw the working of the Neapolitan "Clerico-Liberal Association" into abeyance for some months past. The death of Monsignor Caputo, the Bishop who was their head, was a great loss; his position as Royal Chaplain-General of the old Kingdom of Naples gave him special facilities for opening important Churches to some of the members to preach in[2]. The denunciation of their

[1] Professor Botta is a Piedmontese, and was formerly a Professor of Philosophy in the University of Turin; he has worked as a Professor several years in New York, and revisited Italy last winter, expressly to inform himself of the present changed condition of affairs, specially as bearing on Education and Religion.

[2] A letter from an Italian friend—received while these sheets are going through the press—says, "The Cardinal

journal, the "Colonna di Fuoco," by sixty-eight Neapolitan Bishops, who threatened suspension to Priests, and refusal of Christian Burial to all who abetted it, though a striking proof that the influence of the Journal and Association had not been unfelt, yet naturally told upon many of the poorer Priests, whose daily bread so literally depends upon their Bishops' word. There is also too much reason to fear that, in addition to open war made upon them by Rome, attempts were made by secret emissaries to introduce discord and jealousies amongst the members; recriminations have taken place respecting the management and accounts of the society, and the whole result has been to put a stop to their Journal and united action for some time. Meanwhile, however, the original spirit that prompted them is far from having died out, and is showing itself in various ways. One section has started a fresh Journal, the "Emancipatore Cattolico," in some features rather in advance of the "Colonna;" others are prepared for still farther forward movement, whilst many of the members are just now engaged in re-organizing the association, and hoping to reproduce their Journal. Some have joined Passaglia, who, as you are aware, is trying to form one Libero-Clerical Association for the

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Archbishop of Naples, a refugee in Rome, has excommunicated and interdicted five churches in Naples officiated in by the Liberal Priests, and under the protection of the Government. The decree of this furious Prelate has not been cared for. The services in these churches continue as usual."

whole of Italy. The old jealousies between North and South, which break out in Politics, are, however, not absent from Ecclesiastical minds, so that it is not easy for Passaglia to weld all together. It is, moreover, an undoubted fact that many of the 9000 who gladly joined in his famous petition to the Pope for abandonment of the temporal power, are by no means disposed to stop short at that point, but are fully alive to the necessity of its being followed by extensive reforms, such as the four points I have mentioned.

Whilst staying in the neighbourhood of Naples, a good Parish Priest (one of the most earnest members of the Clerico-Liberal Association) came to stay with us. We had visited him and his family at their own home last year, and had met with a most friendly welcome. We then found him hard at work in his parish, in a large country town. He was gathering his people every evening for a course of Lenten Sermons, and was thoroughly desirous for the restoration of the Bible to his people. He was greatly interested in our Prayer Book, and in Jewell's Apology (the Latin Edition has frequently told well upon Priests), and also in some of your arguments in "Theophilus Anglicanus," proving that the Church of England was originally independent of Rome. This year I was thankful to find in his case, as in others, that increased knowledge of the real character of the Reformed Episcopal Church, manifestly led to increased sympathy with us and desire for analogous reforms in the Church in Italy. He was thoroughly of accord with some of his brethren, who were desirous to promote such reforms as the four points mentioned in the beginning of this letter.

He gladly joined with us in short morning and evening prayers, in which the Italian version of our Prayer Book happily enabled us to unite, reading, alternately, the Psalms for the day, with a Lesson, and a portion of the prayers. He said afterwards, "If we could but have our Church services in our own tongue, and could have this intelligible reading of the Psalms by Priests and people; and the Scriptures read out in our own tongue, in the reverent way that seems habitual to English Church-people, the face of things would be wholly changed in our churches. Now, unhappily, our people too often come in and out, chatting and laughing, not heeding the service, and when we complain they say, 'It's in Latin, and we can't understand.'" He had been reading with much interest the "Three Letters," and had been quietly spreading copies in his own neighbourhood. One of his recent sermons to his people had been on the observance of Sunday in England; he had given them a sketch, something like that graphic description by a French Abbé, of Sunday in London, and then appealed to them, "These are the people we call *heretics*, and out of the pale of the Church. Would it not be well if we were good Catholics enough to be more like them in this practice at all events?" He had taken part in Clerical Education in more than one Episcopal Seminary, and we found him engaged last year in teaching one or two Students for the Priesthood. Like Passaglia, Perfetti, and the generality of Liberal Priests I have met with, he bemoaned the low standard of instruction for Priests in those seminaries. He confirmed what I had before gathered, that in the seminaries of Southern Italy if a

student was known to possess a copy of Dante he was immediately expelled. Gioberti's works naturally were held in still greater dread. He mentioned, as a proof of the determined opposition of the Bishops to the present régime, as well as a proof of their increasing departure from the ancient usages of the Church, regarding the independent rights of the second order of the ministry, that lately some of the Bishops in that neighbourhood have begun to exact *a new oath* from candidates for the Priesthood. It is *a secret oath*, but it is to the effect that the Priests who take it will report directly to the Bishop all they do, and will perform none of their functions except in accordance with his direct injunctions, thus entirely breaking the ordinary relation between a Parish Priest and his Curates, as we should call his assistant Priests. He himself had just experienced the effect of this oath in the case of a newly-ordained Priest, who was residing in his parish. He had requested this young man to help him in the annual benediction of the parishioners' houses, which he gladly did; but in one street he sent him into stood the guard-room of the national guard of the town. The young Priest said he could not bless that guard-room; and when pressed to give his reason, said that he was not at liberty to do it; that he had taken an oath, newly imposed by the Bishop, and was bound to do nothing against his injunctions, and must report to him all he did, and that giving benediction to the national guard-house would be contrary to the injunctions he had received. What would St. Peter and St. Paul have said to such a Bishop's injunctions? And what can Italian laymen, longing

for the freedom and unity of their country, think of the claims of such ecclesiastics?

You are, no doubt, well acquainted with the rich stores of the famous library of the Benedictine Convent of La Cava, between Naples and Salerno. One of the Fathers, who was kindly accompanying me through this Library, testified to the compulsory low standard of clerical education under the Bourbon régime. The present Abbot of that convent is also a Bishop, and has his diocesan seminary, numbering thirty or forty students, attached to the convent. I asked whether these students would be taught to read the Greek Testament, thinking that their position was an unusually favourable one. The Father replied, "You will, perhaps, hardly credit the restriction as regards education to which we were subjected under the late régime; but we were stringently *prohibited from teaching Greek* to these students. Now," he added, "we are free; and I hope that instruction will accordingly be improved, and that these youngsters will know the Greek Testament." Yet, be it remembered, that it was the Bourbon régime with which Rome pulled hand in hand, and that, as is notorious, she now looks with no very kindly eye upon the Benedictines of Monte Cassino and their brethren like-minded elsewhere. As a proof that there is great ignorance prevailing respecting our own Church and Liturgy, even amongst those whom we should expect to be best informed, I may add that, on looking round this Library, I noticed one shelf devoted to liturgies. "You probably have our Anglican Liturgy there?" I remarked to my companion. "No," he said, "we have not."

"I rather wonder you have not a copy," I replied, "as I've found it in several languages in the Library of the Jesuits' College, Rome." "I'm sure we have not got it," he said. "I've never seen it." He went on to say, "I think the English Church has retained one fast-day; *only* one. Good Friday, I believe, you observe?" I said, "Yes, we do; and also the forty days of Lent (through which we were then passing), as well as the other great fasts and festivals of the Christian year." I explained that our branch of the Church does not, like Rome, lay down specific rules for abstinence from certain articles of food on fast-days, nor grant indulgences for them, but contents herself with generally enjoining on her members the duty, inviting them to seek from Him, "who for our sakes fasted forty days," "grace to use such abstinence, that our flesh being subdued to the Spirit, we may ever obey His godly motions in righteousness and true holiness." I went on to explain to him some of the main features of our system as set forth in the Prayer Book. He said, "I should very much like to see that book for information; it is quite unknown to me." On further conversation, I found him keenly alive to Passaglia's movements, reading the "Mediatore" with much interest, and fully convinced that the changed political condition of the country must involve great corresponding changes in the relations between Church and State. I was glad afterwards to be able to send him an Italian copy of the Prayer Book, and also a French copy of your "Theophilus Anglicanus."

An excellent English clergyman, a friend of ours, was

spending a few days last Lent with the Benedictines of Monte Cassino: he found several of the Fathers interested about our Prayer Book; they came more than once to his room to talk with him about it; and, at their request, he left his Italian copy with them. One day he asked one of these good men, "Do you think that your and our branches of the Church will ever be re-united?" "Yes, I do," replied the Benedictine, "though neither you nor I will live to see that day; but," he added, "*meantime remember that what you of the Church of England can best do to promote re-union of the Church is, not to join us, but help us in our attempts to purify ourselves.*"

It is sad to see how far even members of this famous brotherhood will go in practically promoting the substitution of the Virgin in place of her Divine Son in books of popular devotion! I send you a specimen,—"The Psaltery of Mary," third edition, by D. Luigi Tosti, of Monte Cassino,—he is a well-known writer of popular works of devotion. Turn to Salmo xxiii.,—the Virgin as "The Refuge of Sinners,"—and notice the way in which he has not scrupled to employ the parable of the Prodigal Son, after the words, "I will arise, and go to my father," &c., interpolating three pages, describing the penitent beseeching the Virgin to entreat his father on his behalf, till he comes to, "My father saw me afar off, full of compassion, because Mary had told him of me, and his (in Italian it may be *her*) word was of pardon and peace;" then, after finishing the parable, though not quite literally, he concludes, "But in thy bosom, O Mary, I hid the memory of my sin, the

flower of my repentance." The book appropriately ends with the "Te Deum Mariano," than which a more saddening parody upon the noblest hymn of the Christian Church cannot well be conceived.

Can you find space to set some portions before your readers? Can the "destructive tendencies of the Church of Rome" be more clearly shown than in such grievous substitutions for the holiest teachings of our blessed Lord Himself, and of His saints in early ages of His Church? Can we say that they, who in Rome now claim to sit in the seats of St. Peter and St. Paul, are the successors of these Apostles in enjoining, as St. Peter did (1 Pet. ii. 2), the little ones of Christ's flock to "desire the *sincere* milk of the Word," that they "may grow thereby?" And can they declare with St. Paul (2 Cor. iv. 2) that they themselves "have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, *nor handling the Word of God deceitfully?*" Yet, unhappily, now in Italy, Episcopal writers are not wanting who even outdo their Priests in thus feeding their flocks with similar doctrine. You will, I doubt not, show how the Bishop of Mondovi, in the recent publication of his "Ring," scruples not to call the Virgin Mother of our blessed Lord the "Co-Redeemer," and, with a caution worthy of the times of Tetzel, bids the traffickers in the gold, silver, and copper rings, which accompany his book, content themselves with "a discreet profit," in order that the annexed indulgences may be the more widely spread. Yet this is no unknown Bishop, but (as you will see by another of his books I forward) one of the foremost champions of the temporal power, and

honoured with the autograph approbation of the Pope himself. Indeed, the "Rings," both material and metaphorical, were brought out for the edification of the faithful on occasion of a special "Mission," undertaken (at the Pope's request, it is understood) by the Bishop, to the Pope's native city, Sinigaglia, and the profits from the sale of them go to help to support the Episcopal Seminary of Mondovi! Can we wonder that Perfetti ("Il Clero e la Società," p. 19), speaking of such books of popular devotion, should exclaim, "To what exorbitant lengths does the trifling of divers Prelates run! To blasphemies, one would have to say, if there were not the excuse of ignorance. Who can suppose that (books like) these can be good instruments for making true conversions, and for withdrawing the world from its indifference?" Or, again, that Passaglia's journal, "La Pace," severely exposing this very "Ring" of the Bishop of Mondovi, should conclude, "Whoever wishes to see of what the blind fanaticism of the Clericals is capable, and to what these vilest traffickers have reduced the religion of Christ, let him spend fifteen centesimi, and he will be able to assure himself with his own eyes?" I forward you the "La Pace" containing this article, and also happily containing a striking notice of the Bishop of Cremona, a worthy contrast to his brother of Mondovi. This noble-hearted Bishop, having been forbidden by Rome to unite with his clergy and people in religiously celebrating the national fête for the unity of the kingdom, obeyed his ecclesiastical superior by abstaining, but obeyed the loyal impulses of his own conscience also, by placing in the Pope's hands the resignation of his Diocese

the day after. Would not a few such men, supported as they ought to be by the Government, speedily bring about a solution of the present antagonism between Church and State?

On returning northward, through Perugia, I had the pleasure of meeting with Perfetti, who is now engaged as Professor of Italian Literature in the University of Perugia. He expressed his earnest desire to unite with others of his countrymen in the promotion of the Reforms he has so graphically described (Il Clero e la Società) as pressing, including the four points mentioned above. He drew a sad and gloomy picture of the religious condition of his country; his great fear is that the present wide-spread indifference, and disgust at Rome, will end in a great *falling away* from *Christian faith*. He said, "If I could see my countrymen, in large masses, earnestly embracing any form of Protestantism, I could feel thankful, for I should have faith that the organic Church would eventually re-absorb what was true and vital; but it is their falling away altogether from Christian faith that I see is the great danger." I spoke of that passage in "Il Clero e la Società" (pp. 16—18), in which he has given such a touching description of the "faithful souls, religious and devout souls, hearts whose life is Christ," whom he thanks God that He had made him worthy to know, as a proof that there was good ground for hope and encouragement amid much that was dark and disheartening. He burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Alas! few of these were my own countrymen; they were almost all strangers and foreigners, with whom I was brought into contact, from time to time, during my

twenty years' life and work in Rome." I know that many good people have a notion that Italian liberal Priests, disposed to Reform, are mainly influenced by political ambition. If you had space to give that passage of Perfetti's, it might, I think, show that that notion is a mistaken one, at least in some cases. I will only venture to give the conclusion of the passage.

"I have demanded," he says, "of all these Christians to whom things seen and touched were but as a shadow, these Christians who felt in the life that declineth the abiding life within, I have demanded of them the way by which they were come to Jesus Christ and to peace. Some have pointed me to the Bible; some have spoken to me of the tradition consigned in the writings of the Fathers; some have shown me the heaven above; some have repeated to me, like the mystic in his simplicity, *Via Crucis via Lucis;* but hardly one has pointed me to the Priest; or this Priest himself had come to the truth through those very same ways. The official Clergy, the high Clergy, had had none but a very small part, an insignificant part in these conversions truly supernatural, in these conversions that cannot be explained without recurring to the grace of God. This," he adds, "is a most grave fact; the Priest now no more converts. I speak of conversions serious and sincere, of manly conversions, such as those that St. Paul and St. John wrought."

I will only add that his long interview with me confirmed my impression that his heart was as thoroughly in earnest as that passage had led me to expect.

In Siena I met with the learned Dominican Girolamo Bobone, formerly Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the

Roman Archigymnasium, now holding the chair of Sacred Scripture and of Hebrew in the University of Siena. He has, however, laid aside his monastic habit, and is living in quiet retirement as a layman. And why? because he has been suspended from officiating as a Priest by the Archbishop of Siena, and obliged to leave his convent, simply and solely for having written to Passaglia a Latin Letter couched in most moderate terms, but containing "urgent reasons in favour of the Italian cause;" these reasons being entirely founded upon, and in great part a simple transcript of, the words of St. Bernard and of the Cardinal-Legate, President of the Council of Basle, to the effect that the Pope ought to resign his temporal power and grandeur rather than risk the loss of souls for whom Christ died, and whose salvation was the sole object of the appointment of the Christian ministry. The letter concludes by earnestly but most respectfully praying that the Pope will take heed to the serious dangers that are now besetting the Church in Italy. A Parish Priest close to Siena, who translated this letter, was also proceeded against by the Archbishop. I am sorry not to have my copy at hand to forward you.

Bobone spoke strongly of the ignorance and superstition prevalent amongst the masses of his countrymen, and of the need of reforming and purifying the Church.

He is engaged in writing in the "Mediatore," and has recently been employed by the Government in reorganizing a College at Prato. His case, and that of the Priest who translated his book, has created considerable local interest.

On Sunday afternoon I went to a Parish Church,

attached to the Cathedral, in Siena, hoping to listen to the Dottrina Cristiana. A courteous old Priest, who had been giving instruction, gave a most gloomy account of the prevalent indifference of the people, and of the weakening of the Church's hold upon them. They found the greatest difficulty, he said, in inducing young people to come to the Dottrina Cristiana; and that there was a woeful falling off in general attention to religious duties, since the conflict began between Rome and Italy. Whilst walking on the ramparts, in the evening, I fell into conversation with a knot of people, who certainly fully confirmed this Priest's views.

In Florence, one of the most learned Ecclesiastical Dignitaries told another friend and myself:—"It is difficult for you, as foreigners, to comprehend the state our people are coming to as regards religion. This last Easter a very large number of our parishioners rejected the tickets for admission to the Holy Communion. They threw them back, I may almost say, in our faces; for many refused them with scorn and sarcasm. We had very few communicants indeed." He spoke most strongly of the absolute necessity of a re-adjustment of the relations between Church and State, and of extensive reforms in the Church, if it is to retain its hold in the country. He also bore striking testimony to the good result of other teaching in one case that had fallen under his own eye. He said:—"It is, of course, grating to our feelings to see the Protestant congregations that are making way amongst us here; but I am bound to acknowledge the good result that I have seen in one instance. A man I knew here—a widower, of forty years of age—was

living in adultery. Something induced him to attend one of the Protestant services. He became so deeply impressed that he entirely abandoned his sinful course of life, united himself to that congregation, and I can testify that he has been living consistently as a reformed earnest Christian man during the last two years." He also added, that he had been much pleased to find that this man, far from having imbibed bitterness of feeling against the Pope and Church of Rome, expressed his conviction that the only right way to meet them was by overcoming evil with good; by prayer, and showing a more excellent way. This case, he added, has thoroughly convinced me that the teaching this man received must have been really good. You are aware that our friend is in intimate relation with official persons in high position. I am thankful to find that he gathers, from recent communications, that there is a growing feeling in high quarters of the necessity of thorough Church Reform, if the Church itself is to be preserved in the country, and Italy preserved from wide-spread indifference and unbelief. I found that in Pistoia and elsewhere large numbers of people had, as in Florence, rejected the tickets for admission to the Easter Communion. In Genoa, which is remarkable for the general devotion of the people, I was assured that the number of wafers consecrated for the Host at Easter had fallen full one-third below what were used some few years ago. One of the most striking and mournful descriptions of the present religious condition of the country I have heard was from the lips of an old Ecclesiastic in Florence, who is also a Senator of the Kingdom, and holds an important

official position. All his antecedents lead him to what we should call strong Conservative tendencies; and I have heard few Italians so calmly and impartially balance the difficulties in their present position, and the pros and cons as between Rome and united Italy; yet, speaking of the present working of the Church in the country, and the religious prospects of the future, he did not hesitate to say,—"The manner in which our Church system has long been practically carried out has, unhappily, tended to obscure the vital elements of good in it, by withdrawing the main stress from essential features of truth, and laying it upon others which are either less important, or, in many respects, superstitious and erroneous. We have not kept the 'proportion of faith' that St. Paul bade; and the result is, that we have a vast amount of indifference and disgust, as well as of actual scepticism, amongst our educated classes, even in high quarters. We have a good deal of what I may call official, ceremonial religion, which appears to have very little power to influence the heart; and we have a residuum of ignorance and superstition. I cannot see how the Church is to retain its hold, if things go on in their present course. God appears to be leading us in this country to great and important changes, which He will doubtless overrule to good; but, humanly speaking, I see that we are in great risk of passing through some great religious catastrophe, which may, perhaps, violently sweep away the official Church of the country. Nor should I look upon that with much regret, if I could only see an undergrowth of really earnest religious and moral sentiment largely springing up amongst our people.

I should then feel it was but as the seed bursting into new life, and throwing aside the husk that had hitherto held it: but it is the absence, the general lack of such earnest religious sentiment that alarms me. It seems as if we must pass through chaos first; and out of it, God will, I trust, bring a purer and better condition of faith, though I shall not live to see it."

I have heard similar descriptions from others, but none that impressed me more, from the character and position of the speaker.

Remember, these are the sentiments of no young enthusiastic liberal thinker, or hot-headed opponent of Rome, but of a quiet elderly Ecclesiastic, and a landed Proprietor, still, I believe, in the habit of ministering to his own people on his estate, and one who has for many years been honourably distinguished by earnest efforts to promote the moral and intellectual progress of his countrymen by improved education. As a proof of what he said of the feeling of dissatisfaction with the actual working of the Church prevalent amongst intelligent Laymen, I may mention what one of the ablest and most thoughtful University Professors I have met in Italy said: "I am one of many who cannot continue to attend our Church Services, the whole thing is so unsatisfactory to us. Yet," he added, "do not think we are utterly irreligious. We are, many of us, I know, earnestly searching after religion at home, though that, we feel, must necessarily be imperfect. It seems," he added, "as if Italy had missed the great opportunity for Religious Reform which Northern Europe seized three centuries ago, and now it appears very doubtful how far

we shall be able to make up for lost way." Another able scientific Professor, also a Senator of the Kingdom, said, "I feel that the logical consequence of the steps we have taken to promote liberty of conscience and of public worship is the repeal of the First Article of our Constitution, which recognizes the Roman Catholic religion as that of the State. If that were repealed to-morrow, you would see, I believe, the majority of educated Italians openly fall away from the Church of Rome; such numbers of us nominally adhere to it because abandonment involves many inconveniences. I think it probable," he added, "that Italy will take the lead in Europe in practically applying the principle of entire severance between Church and State."

I was thankful to hear one distinguished literary Professor, well known for his researches into the life and writings of Savonarola, express his hope and expectation that Italy would work out her Church Reformation. But without wearying you with a number of individual testimonies, which I might multiply, I may just ask what would be our own hope of the Church of England retaining its hold over the minds and affections of the educated and higher classes amongst us, if we found, as I have done in mingling with a considerable number of University Professors and Public Schoolmasters in Italy, that the very men most directly engaged in moulding the minds of the future professional and public laymen of the country were precisely those whose own belief in and attachment to their Church system was so manifestly shaken? I will only add that no Italian more fully and more sadly confirmed the impression I

had received from others as to the lack of earnest faith in their religious system, as at present working, than Passaglia himself.

"I do not hesitate to say," he told a friend and myself, "that I believe there is no Christian nation at the present moment in which vital faith in religion is so grievously shaken as it is amongst my countrymen. I do not speak of it," he added, "as a question of their being good Catholics, but retaining earnest Christian faith at all." Be it remembered that this celebrated theologian no longer speaks as a recluse from his cell of study,—though as he lately said in his place in the Italian Parliament, it was *there, in his cell in Rome*, that he deeply pondered and formed the resolve of devoting all his powers to the noble aim of reconciling his Church and Country,—a task he felt could only be achieved by convincing the one that her abandonment of temporal claims could alone rekindle the faith and win back the attachment of the other. Yet I confess that amid so many disheartening tokens, I often fell back with comfort on the thought that the "seven thousand who never bowed the knee to Baal" have ever represented a great and cheering fact in all times and circumstances of God's Church and people,—and I was thankful to know what one earnest brave-hearted man, not afraid of risking hard usage and imprisonment, could do in rousing popular sympathy with his simple earnest calls to the people to abandon the gross corruptions of Rome and return to purer and more primitive faith and worship. Don A. G. is a Piedmontese Priest under suspension, but during the past year he has been going through the country in

his priest's dress, preaching in the piazzas of Turin and other large towns in Piedmont, as well as in a large number of country places, always announcing himself as "a Reformer, *not* a Protestant," exposing the abuses of Rome in homely vigorous language, and urging the need of returning to primitive Catholicism. His preachings are very simple, but well adapted to the common people, who hear him gladly. After preaching, he distributes the substance of his addresses printed in the shape of dialogues between an Italian National Priest and a Priest of the Pope. In these he urges the reading of the Bible, the establishment of an Italian National Church, and the recognition of Jesus Christ as the alone Head of the Church; condemns the sale of indulgences, benedictions, dispensations, masses for the dead, &c.; exposes the absurdity of prayers in a tongue not understood of the people; also speaks plainly upon the abuses of the confessional, Peter's Pence, brigandage, &c. He has sold many thousand copies of these at a trifling price, as a help towards his maintenance since his suspension. As you will readily understand, the clerical Journals have denounced him vehemently, and the Ecclesiastical Authorities have done all in their power to stop his mouth. At their instigation he has been repeatedly arrested by the gendarmes, and occasionally led off handcuffed as a common criminal, the populace applauding him vigorously; but as no charge could be substantiated against him, he has been as often set free again. Twice, however, he has been formally tried before the tribunals in Turin, and his printed addresses submitted to legal investigation. These were found not to contain any indictable matter.

Once he was sentenced to a short imprisonment for some unguarded expressions about those who instigated his arrest, but it was legally decided that his suspension by the Bishop did not affect his right of preaching publicly, so long as he committed no breach of the peace. Whilst in prison, attempts were made by the Clergy to persuade him to silence, and offers were not wanting to induce him to abandon his present course, but in vain; as soon as he was out he began at once to preach again, and was secretly commended and exhorted to persevere by some of his brother Clergy. Just lately I saw a notice in one of the Turin papers that the Vicar-General of the diocese had issued a circular warning the faithful not to listen to his preachings. This, however, appeared to have the opposite effect to what was intended. The fact of his going vested as a Priest, and declaring himself "*a Reformer, not a Protestant,*" has procured him a ready hearing from many who might not otherwise have been so disposed to listen. This the excellent Vaudois Missionary Pastor in Turin remarked to me. I once had the pleasure of meeting this Priest, and was much impressed with his apparent thorough earnestness and determination to persevere in the work he felt called to. He is well known and esteemed by our excellent friend in Turin, whom you so well know and value for his work's sake.

Another incident showing the present temper of the times, occurred within the last few weeks at Treviglio, a country town in Lombardy. At the joint instigation of a Priest and a Government employé, some lads lighted a fire in the market-place, and burnt some copies of the

Bible (Diodati's version), the Government employé taking an open part and stirring up the fire vigorously. Count Tasca deemed it his duty, as a neighbouring resident, to take up this case, and having promptly investigated the facts laid them before the provincial authorities, and the authorities in Turin, upon whom the Government official directly depended. Summary punishment was inflicted upon the official, who found that he had severely burnt his own fingers by this auto-da-fe, but the matter did not quite end there. The Editor of a local journal, the "Trevigliese," admitted a report of the Bible-burning from a spectator, and commented upon it in forcible terms, condemning the act as one of blind unreasoning fanaticism, only likely to defeat its own aim. This Editor is a Priest, much respected by his neighbours, and a man of independent position. His Bishop forthwith intimated to him that he was suspended *a divinis*, without, however, alleging any legal ground for the suspension. The Bishop further sent a Priest to preach in the Parish Church on the subject, which he did, vigorously denouncing the Editor and his journal, and all who abetted it. The people were indignant, and the preacher was glad to escape. The Editor, however, accepted the Bishop's sentence, contenting himself with replying through his journal that he was aware he might contest the legality of the suspension, as not being based upon any breach of Ecclesiastical discipline, but that he felt it better to mark his own adherence to the new order of ideas both religious and political, by quietly divesting himself of his Priest's dress and living as a Layman until the relations between Church and State should become

better harmonized. He has met with much sympathy from his Lay neighbours.

I do not dwell at length upon the progress of the Vaudois and "Free Evangelical Italians," because you can so readily procure full information upon their work through other channels. I may say, however, that both are gradually progressing, and breaking fresh ground in many parts of the country. In Milan, and elsewhere in Lombardy, their recent advance has been very marked. There is an able and zealous Vaudois Pastor in Milan, whose ministrations are well attended, and there are also, I understand, three other "Evangelical" congregations in the city and suburbs, numbering altogether several hundred members. Congregations have also sprung up in several country places.

In the Vaudois church in Turin I witnessed a very interesting ceremonial; the *first* ordination they have held *out of their Valleys*, at all events, as they would perhaps say, since the days of the Apostolic Bishop Claude of Turin, for it is a curious fact that the Vaudois fully admit that anciently they were under Episcopal régime, though they cannot tell when they lost it. Traces of the exercise of Episcopal functions by the President of their Synod are found as late as towards the close of the seventeenth century, I believe.

Two candidates for the ministry were solemnly "set apart by prayer and imposition of hands" in accordance with their simple ritual. There were twelve or fifteen Pastors from the Valleys present, with a goodly congregation of their Lay members and friends. The portions of Holy Scripture setting forth the character and duties of

Christian ministers were read; one or two suitable hymns, led by an effective choir, and heartily joined in, were mingled with the prayers; a stirring sermon was delivered by the presiding Pastor, Mielle, the Vaudois Missionary Pastor in Turin, charging the two young "soldiers of Christ," who were then about to buckle on their armour in their Lord's service, to "war a good warfare," "holding faith and a good conscience," in the double conflict to which the special circumstances of Italy seemed to call them, with corrupted Christian faith overlaid with superstition on the one hand, and indifference running into unbelief on the other. They were earnestly exhorted to keep ever in mind that the one great aim of their missionary ministrations was to win souls to earnest living faith in Christ, and to a corresponding holy life springing from that faith, *not* to proselytize Italians to the Vaudois or other special form of Church organization.

After the sermon the "Veni Creator" was sung; then followed the questions addressed to the candidates, corresponding to the questions put by the Bishop in our own Ordination Service. These were read from their Service Book. The candidates then raised their right hands and swore—that, God helping them, they would faithfully abide by the vows and promises they had made.

The imposition of hands then followed, but not quite literally. The candidates knelt, the presiding Pastor stood in front of them, the other Pastors forming a ring round; all then extended their hands over, but did not actually touch their heads; whilst the presiding Pastor solemnly invoked the Holy Spirit to give them grace for

the faithful discharge of their office in the ministration of the Word of God and of the Sacraments. The Holy Communion was not administered; but on rising from their knees the presiding Pastor took each candidate by the hand and gave him the "kiss of peace," with a few words of brotherly welcome; each Pastor in turn then stepped forward and did the same, a suitable text or a word of brotherly exhortation being given by each. There was a grave earnest solemnity and Scriptural simplicity in the ceremonial which was truly impressive; and it certainly conveyed to me the idea of being much more nearly in accordance with the simple Scriptural accounts of ordinations as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, than the gorgeous and complex ceremonials I witnessed at an ordination at St. John Lateran, Rome, so well described in your Journal (vol. ii. pp. 43—51), but of which the meaning was, apparently, almost wholly lost upon the people who assisted as spectators, from its being carried on in an unknown tongue, and also in under-tones which would have rendered it difficult to follow had it been in Italian. Perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that, whilst witnessing these two widely different ceremonials, I could not help appreciating more than ever our own impressive Ordination Service. Its simple and intelligible, yet solemn and touching, ceremonial contrasted so forcibly with Rome; yet left nothing to desire in fulness of pure Scriptural tone and spirit, as well as of primitive Apostolic order.

The candidates had come up from the Vaudois Theological College in Florence. Several Italian students, some of them ex-priests, are now pursuing their studies

there, with a view to devoting themselves to work in Italy. Whilst we were in Naples last winter a southern Italian Monk went up to join this College. I had been struck the winter before, on visiting his convent, to find one of the first questions put to me by several of the brethren was on the comparative merits of Martini's and Diodati's Italian Version of the Bible. They told me they were comparing them, and felt that the people ought to have the Bible fully and freely restored to them. In Tuscany and other parts of Central Italy the "Evangelical Italians" and the Vaudois both appear to be gradually making way, but, of course, with less excitement than when their work was new. In Florence, in addition to the former agencies, Signor Gavazzi has thrown in some fresh impulse; he also publishes a politico-religious Journal, with the vehement tone of which, however, I was sorry to find several of his friends much disappointed. In Pisa a small "Capella Evangelica" is rising in sight of the Duomo; perhaps the clearest testimony that the "Evangelical" movement is not unfelt there, was given by the Cardinal Archbishop, who heartily denounced it in his Lenten Pastoral, and apparently wished to impress his flock with the belief that the drought from which they had been suffering was a visitation on account of these heretical innovations. In Leghorn the efforts of the Vaudois appear to have been very successful, and their influence is beginning to tell amongst the upper classes. I must not, however, go into further details on this point, except to add that Colportage of religious books is systematically and vigorously carried on throughout Italy by various Societies in

connexion with the "Free Evangelical" and Vaudois work. Thirty thousand Bibles and Testaments were disposed of by the British and Foreign Bible Society last year, exclusive of those issued by other Societies.

The able controversial works of Dr. De Sanctis are in much demand. Probably no one Italian writer of the day has silently done so much as he has to stimulate religious thought and inquiry. His Almanack, the "Amico di Casa," has literally become a "Friend of the House" in many thousand families; last year, I understood, its circulation amounted to 120,000 copies. It has earned the distinction of being more directly and frequently denounced in Episcopal Pastorals than any other book, and has stimulated the production of a greatly improved Roman Catholic Almanack, "Il vero Amico di Casa;" this, however, has not hitherto attained more than one-twentieth part of the circulation of the other.

I believe that the wide-spread circulation of the Bible, and of other religious books, has produced and is producing a far wider effect in the country than would be supposed, if its effects were judged only by the numbers of Italians who have openly abandoned Rome and united themselves to the various Protestant congregations. I believe that the desire now manifested by many Priests for the restoration of the Holy Scriptures to the people is, in a great degree, owing to the vigorous efforts that have been made from without to supply this crying want. I have good reason to know that in many families who would shrink from avowing themselves Protestants the Bible is read, and our own Prayer Book examined, and, in some instances, used in domestic devotion.

Those who have earnestly striven to promote the

spread of the Word of God amongst Italians may rest assured that they have been instrumental, under God's blessing, in diffusing an amount of Scriptural light which has reached the eyes, and, we may trust, has touched the hearts, of many more than those who have openly broken with Rome; and the seed thus sown will yet, in God's good time, show fruit.

Whilst the concurrent testimonies of a considerable number of members of the Church of Rome, in various positions in different parts of the country, coupled with the results I witnessed of direct proselytizing efforts, led to the conclusion that Rome's religious hold over the Italians is becoming sensibly weakened, I was also greatly struck with the extent to which she is alienating from herself the sympathies of those who are desirous to promote and profit by the development of public education. Whilst the Government, in conjunction with the municipal and other local authorities, backed by public opinion, are making very vigorous efforts to promote national education, Rome, acting through the Bishops, has taken up a position of determined antagonism, and uses all her influence to withhold the Clergy from throwing themselves heartily into this great work; and, in too many cases, openly carries on vigorous war against it. Nor is this opposition a new phase in her conduct since the formation of the Italian Kingdom. I well remember, some few years ago, at the time when the Piedmontese Government were beginning to make vigorous efforts to establish Communal Schools, a Deputy of the then Sardinian Parliament telling me,—"We have done all we can to conciliate the Clergy, and secure their co-operation. We appointed the Parish Priests *ex officio* leading members

of the School Committee in each commune, and left the 'Dottrina Cristiana'—the religious instruction of the scholars—*entirely in their hands*, that they might feel sure of not being troubled with Lay interference." I remember thinking at that time, what would Archdeacon Denison—and those who, with him, were stoutly combating for what they felt to be the Church's due share in our National education—have said, if such terms had been offered to them by our Government; yet, my informant added,—"Despite all our attempts at conciliation, injunctions came from Rome, and we could scarcely get any Priests or Nuns to work with us, thankful though we should have been; for at that time we had no Normal Training Institution for Masters or Mistresses, and our great difficulty was to secure a supply of Teachers." One or two instances will best show that Rome still offers the same opposition in other parts of the Kingdom of Italy. Take an instance from Lombardy. The year before last, in order to supply the great want of Teachers for Elementary Schools, the province of Bergamo established a Normal Training Institution for Schoolmistresses. This Institution is in Bergamo, close under the Bishop's eye. A lady, of great capability and energy, a widowed daughter of Count Tasca, took the lead in its management, and threw herself heartily into the work. Two Priests, also, zealous for the promotion of popular education, joined it: one specially to give the religious instruction, in full accordance with the Diocesan "Dottrina Cristiana;" the other for general direction of the course of studies. But the Bishop *forthwith suspended both these Priests;* and further issued a circular to all his Parish Priests, forbidding them to give the ordinary

certificate of Baptism, as a testimonial of age, to any young woman wishing to enter this Training Institution, to qualify herself as a Schoolmistress. The Institution, however, flourishes, despite the Episcopal denunciation. We found some eighty students under training. Both the Priests remained at their posts. All the arrangements appeared very effective; the Pupils thoroughly interested in their work; and the Institution has received high commendation from the Government School Inspectors: but you may judge that the line taken by the Bishop has done not a little to give the impression that Rome is, in reality, inimical to the progress of popular education. What, indeed, would be the feeling amongst our own people, and what would become of the Church's influence upon the (million and upwards[3] of) children now happily in our Schools, if the Westminster Training Institution for Schoolmistresses, and our numerous Diocesan Training Colleges, were thus laid under interdict by our Bishops? instead of being, as, thank God, they now are, amongst the Church's main stays. Take another instance, touching a higher grade, from the opposite end of Italy. In Catania, as in other parts of Sicily, the present Government found there was great want of efficient schools for lads intended for the profession, and for preparation for the Universities. In Italy the "Gymnasiums" and

[3] The number of Scholars on the books of the Church Week-day Schools in England and Wales is 1,187,086. This number is stated at pp. 80 and 592 in Vol. i. of the Report of the Commissioners on Popular Education in England, issued in 1861.

"Lyceums" correspond to the lower and upper divisions of our great Public Schools. The Government last year established a "Gymnasium" and "Lyceum" in one building in Catania; there are now 200 scholars in it under an efficient staff of Masters and Professors. A Chapel was prepared, and a Chaplain nominated for their religious instruction. The Director was desired to apply to the Archbishop of Catania for his licence for the Chaplain. The Archbishop did not deign to reply to two written communications made to him. The Director was then ordered to make a personal application, which he did, but the Archbishop simply replied that he could grant no licence. He was asked if he had any personal objection to the Chaplain nominated; none whatever; it would have been the same with any other Priest; he, the Archbishop, could have nothing whatever to do with the work. The Chapel therefore remains closed, and the Chaplain's duties are dispensed with. Again, I may ask, what would become of the Church of England, if her Bishops were thus to use their influence to thwart the great public schools in their Dioceses? Can we wonder that these people keenly feel that Rome shows herself resolved to do all she can to hinder wholesome progress and the harmony of the State? That such is the feeling prevalent both amongst Teachers and Pupils in the Public Schools of various grades and in the Universities, I could not help seeing from one end of the country to the other, and this state of things is engendering such an amount of bitter feeling against Rome and the Church, as at present working, that it seems impossible, humanly speaking, that the

Church can avoid suffering immense loss of influence in a few years if things continue as at present. Indeed she *has* thus already lost, and is losing, her hold where this system of opposition has been continued for some few years. Take Genoa as an example. Few Cities in Europe, in proportion to their size, probably have made more vigorous and successful efforts to promote education amongst all classes than Genoa, since the establishment of constitutional liberty. The Municipal Authorities have freely expended large sums in establishing a complete series of Schools, infant and elementary, for both sexes; secondary or "Technical" Schools for children of Artizans and Tradespeople; Gymnasium, Lyceum, Normal Training Schools, and large Evening Schools for adults. Including a not very large body of University Students, and one or two Institutions dependent on the Educational Department of the Government, there are, I understand, some 16,000 scholars under instruction in the public schools of all grades, out of a population of nearly 128,000 (Dec. 31, 1861). The great majority of these are in the Schools supported by the Municipality, which last year expended 400,000 francs, say 16,000*l.*, on public education. Not less than 2500 adults and youths last winter attended the night schools. I shall not soon forget the interesting visits I paid to several of these Schools, in company with an English friend long resident in Genoa, and with the courteous and most obliging Municipal Inspector. One evening we spent in a Night School, attended by 300 men and youths, in several rooms, in one of the large old "Palazzos" which abound in Genoa, and are readily convertible into con-

venient schools. The good order, and quiet earnest attention to work in all the classes was very striking, the progress appeared very satisfactory, and there was a hearty, frank, genial spirit manifested throughout, which showed that they thoroughly appreciated the benefit of the instruction. One sailor, I remember, was present, who had just passed a successful examination for the Government certificate, qualifying him to act as master of a coasting craft. This man had entered the night school, unable to read, and had learnt all he knew there. But one feature struck us forcibly; whilst chatting with one and another of the men and lads in the various classes, looking at their work, and congratulating them on their progress, many remarked, "We hope this is a good step towards Rome;" "We hope this will be a great means towards a strong and united Italy." It was impossible not to feel the direction in which the current was setting, *that an educated Italian people would have their country for themselves.* The remark was more than once made to me by Inspectors and other school officials, "Don't think that we call forth these ebullitions of feeling, indeed we have no occasion, we have rather to check and keep them under." The geographical lessons, lessons on the duties of citizens, all tend the same way; the political creed inculcated is short, but clear and unmistakeable,—Italy one Kingdom, Rome the Capital, Victor Emmanuel the Constitutional Head. This prevails throughout. One day in Florence, whilst visiting the admirable Normal Training School for Mistresses, containing some 130 students, I chanced to drop in upon a geographical lesson. The Teacher was asking the names of places

from which different nations reckoned their meridian distances, as Greenwich, Paris, &c.; when she asked "and for Italy?" the tone in which all called out "Rome" was unmistakeable, as well as her reply, "Precisely so,—through the Capitol." But what bearing has all this upon the Church? I need not say that the Ecclesiastical Authorities stand wholly aloof from and frown upon it, though there are not wanting Priests who see clearly how matters are going, and would thankfully, with Passaglia, remove the stumbling-block of the Pope's temporal power, and throw themselves heartily into the popular education movement, in the hope of influencing it with a religious spirit and with attachment to the Church; and some are also glad to work as Masters in these schools for the sake of improved stipend; but that, in the main, this movement is telling directly and powerfully against the Church of Rome cannot be doubted by any who watch it. I was much struck with what the excellent Municipal Inspector in Genoa said, the more so as he was evidently a man of very earnest religious feeling. "I am not ashamed," he said, "to confess myself a sincere Catholic, but I assure you I spend many sad hours when I think of what the present state of things is leading to. I see the schism between Church and State, between Clergy and People daily growing wider, and I see the feeling of the people against Rome and the Church becoming more embittered. Our Clergy, unhappily, appear blind to the true interests of the Church. They, many of them, dread the development of popular education, believing that it tends inevitably to freedom of thought, and will end in Pro-

testantism. Thus, instead of accepting our invitations to co-operation in the first instance, they have held aloof, and too often, as far as they can and dare, speak and act against us, thwarting our work as much as they can. They act under injunctions from Rome, which have the effect of checking some who would themselves be disposed to join and help us. Owing to the Clergy having held aloof, and also to the continued determined opposition of Rome, there has sprung up a counter feeling on the part of the Laity, that the special position and facilities originally offered to the Clergy in the public schools should be withdrawn. This has been in some measure done, and now we have no special religious instruction, except in the primary schools. In these we regularly instruct in the 'Dottrina Cristiana,' and twice a year invite all the Parish Priests to attend and examine in it, that they may report if they are satisfied, but scarcely one will come near. I verily believe that some are afraid of being convinced against their will that we are really doing a great and good work. Meantime our people feel that they are getting a good education, thanks to the government, thanks to the municipal authorities, thanks to public opinion generally, but no thanks at all to, indeed, in the teeth of Rome and the Church. They don't stop to discriminate nicely between the temporal and spiritual sides of the question, and the result is a wide-spread growing feeling of disgust, which leads to indifference and neglect of religion itself. The Church in this city has lost and is losing its hold over the men and youths to a sad extent; very few, indeed, go to the churches to attend the catechizing of the Priests in the 'Dottrina

Cristiana,' and there is a great falling off in earnest attention to religious duties. If I had not faith in the essential truth of my religion and in an overruling Providence, I should despair, for I often tremble for the future of the Church in this country. Meantime I look with hope and thankfulness upon our Infant and Primary Schools, for I look upon these as a providential means given us in our present transition state for keeping alive the religious sentiment in the minds of the rising generation." I heard this good Inspector himself beautifully exemplify this last remark when catechizing some of the primary classes in a way which showed how thoroughly he felt what he had said. I have dwelt upon Genoa partly because, so far as I could judge, Genoa has taken a decided lead in the systematic and successful development of popular education, and partly because it affords such a fair example of the results of Rome's determined antagonism, and of the way in which she is alienating from herself the sympathies of earnest, thoughtful Italians, resolved to promote National Education, in the full confidence that it must prove one of the most effective means for securing the unity and strength of their country. I ought emphatically to add that no men could show more thorough appreciation of the necessity of religious faith and teaching as the only sure foundation of family and national life, than did both the Municipal Inspector and Professor Boccardo [4], the two leading

[4] Professor Boccardo is Professor of Political Economy in the University of Genoa. His zeal and devotion in the promotion of public education have deservedly won

officials to whose courtesy and kindness we were so much indebted in visiting these schools; yet no men could more forcibly describe than they did the schism between Rome and the State on this vital question, and both alike expressed their conviction that its bearing on the future relations of the Church and country *was pregnant with importance*. I gathered similar impressions, however, wherever I had opportunities of visiting the public schools of all grades. It is one of the features that most clearly marks the contrast between the past and present régimes in Southern Italy. As you look at the magnificent colleges in Naples and Palermo, for instance, which so lately were in the hands of the Jesuits, and are still as full of scholars as they then were, you feel what a loss of influence Rome must have sustained by the change of direction that has passed over them.

It is not merely that the most able and devoted supporters of her system are gone, but that their places are filled by those who are labouring to exercise in some respects a diametrically opposite influence. It may, indeed, be fairly said that the result of Garibaldi's marvellous expedition proved that Jesuit influence in Southern Italy was far from being deep and abiding, though unquestionably there was no stronger support to Rome and the Bourbon régime; but a single example of the elements gathered to form the present educational staff in a Southern City will tell better than many words the change in the spirit of public instruction. The unity of

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him the highest esteem amongst his fellow-citizens. He is indeed the soul of this great movement in Genoa.

Italy is embodied by representatives from every great province. Two of the Directors are Roman exiles, advocates who had served as Deputies in the Roman Parliament, and had been Governors of Provincial Towns in 1848. An exiled Venetian Professor, Professors from Piedmont, Tuscany, and other parts, are all working under the presidency of a zealous Sicilian nobleman; need I say that such men as these infuse into National Education a spirit as diametrically opposed to the old influences of Rome and the Bourbons as can possibly be conceived? Yet it is under similar influences that public education is becoming vigorously and widely extended, in the great centres of public opinion, in the cities and important towns; for, as yet, the country districts are far behindhand, specially in Southern Italy, where the population had been left in primitive ignorance under the late régime.

In Messina we witnessed a curious illustration of the present unsettled relations between Church and State. The See is vacant, and the Archbishop's palace was filled with the large classes of the recently-established Gymnasium and Lyceum. This, however, was but a temporary arrangement until the Municipal Authorities and School Commission could provide suitable accommodation. It was somewhat amusing also that in this involuntary Archiepiscopal school, I happened to drop in upon the upper class of the Lyceum, "the Sixth Form" as we might say, during an historical lesson on the disputes about investiture between Pope and Emperor. This led to some remarks on the special privileges won by Roger the Norman from the Pope for himself and his successors as hereditary Legates-Apostolic of Sicily. Afterwards I

had the pleasure of calling the attention of the intelligent Professor (all the masters are so called) to the general question as discussed in the "Three Letters" you have reproduced in your Journal. He was much interested in them, took a somewhat different view, and promised to write to the Author on the subject. In Messina several Priests take a keen interest and a large share in the work; amongst others the zealous Secretary of the School Commission, Abate Carmelo Allegra, long known in Messina as a tried and earnest upholder of liberal views both in politics and religion. He and some of his brethren like-minded, suffered severely under the old régime. They threw themselves heart and soul into Garibaldi's movement for the liberation of Sicily, and hence their present appointment to influential positions in public instruction. In Palermo the great College formerly in the hands of the Jesuits presents a striking sight, completely filled as it is with a variety of Schools, from the elementary classes up to the Lyceum, including also, in one part of the building, the Normal Training School for Masters. I was particularly struck with the Students in this Normal School. In Northern and Central Italy, owing to the drain upon young men for the army, for government employment, and for business of all kinds, there is great difficulty in obtaining a supply of Masters for Elementary Schools. In Southern Italy, where there have been fewer openings for young men, the case seems different. There were fifty-six students in the Palermo Normal School, and their highly respectable appearance and general tone and bearing, as well as their great apparent interest in their work, were most en-

couraging for its future prospects. In Messina also there is an effective Normal School for Masters.

For young women the career of a National Schoolmistress is an entirely new opening in most parts of Italy. Hitherto respectable young women, not disposed to enter domestic service, have had very few employments open to them, unless they became members of religious orders; now they appear thankful to enter upon this new sphere. In Genoa several hundreds have been trained. In Florence the 130 present students were selected out of a large number of applicants. In Sicily, however, the domestic habits of the people at first presented a great obstacle. Formerly it was not considered correct for a young girl, after very early years, to attend a public school; but, happily, this prejudice is giving way, and both in Palermo and Catania we found Normal Schools for mistresses making a very hopeful beginning. In Catania a large Infant School, the most effective, I thought, I saw in Italy, was conducted by an admirable mistress, and two of her young female relatives; but these had been brought for the purpose from Piedmont. When first opened, this School had been looked on with no little suspicion by the parents, who were shy of entrusting their children to it. Now it cannot take in nearly all who would thankfully be sent, and it is creating a desire for other schools like it in the city.

National Education in most parts of Italy is but beginning, and I was not able to obtain sufficiently full and clear statistical information to show, as I could have wished, the contrast between the numbers of public schools and scholars before 1860, and in the present

year. But one or two facts respecting Palermo, from a return kindly furnished by the able Provveditore, Signor Alberto de Gioannes, may serve to give a fair idea of the progress making there.

In 1860, there were in Palermo 9 Public Elementary Day Schools, and 2 Evening Schools.

In 1863, 24 Day and 9 Evening Schools.

In 1860, these Schools comprised 1400 scholars; this year 2336.

In 1860, there were *no* Infant Schools; in 1863, 4 Schools, with 600 infants.

In 1860, *no* Public Schools for Girls; 1863, 7, with 206 children.

In 1860, *no* Normal Training Schools for Masters; 1863, 1, with 56 students.

In 1860, *no* Normal Training Schools for Mistresses; 1863, 1, with 22 students.

The Municipality has also appropriated 24,000 ducats, say 4000*l*., for the further extension of Infant and Elementary Schools for boys and girls, and for Evening Schools. This scheme is being daily carried out, and when completed—by the end of this year, it is hoped—the city will have 82 Schools for these classes alone. I have already remarked that the large college of the Jesuits is as full as formerly, though under changed direction. This takes in the scholars of the Gymnasium and Lyceum. "Technical" schools for the artizan and tradesmen classes have also been established. In Southern Italy the want of public schools was formerly supplied in some measure by private schools (though not nearly to the same degree as in Tuscany, where private schools

were very numerous and efficient). In Palermo there appears to have been no diminution in the number of private schools, though there has been a falling off in the scholars; about a third of whom, it is thought, have been absorbed into the public Schools. In the province of Palermo a great extension of Communal schools has also taken place during the past year. In the various chief towns of the province, the higher schools are in course of formation, the Elementary schools having been now established.

In a recent number of the "Victoria Magazine," you will find an interesting paper on the Palermo schools. I had the pleasure of visiting several of them, in company with the accomplished authoress of that paper, Miss Anna Leigh Smith.

One day on visiting the University of Palermo we casually met with four students, who courteously pointed out the different features of interest. We found three out of the four conversed readily in English: they said many of the students could do the same: they manifested great sympathy with England.

In Naples I had found several Professors well acquainted with English, but did not observe the same proficiency amongst the students I chanced to meet.

In Messina and Catania the Government and local authorities have shown the same zeal in promoting public instruction amongst all classes, as in Palermo, and with proportionate results. Elementary, Secondary, Night Schools, as well as the higher Schools, are progressing in numbers, and beginning to show corresponding good results. I devoted a good deal of time to visiting these

various schools whilst lessons were going on, and felt that the progress was very satisfactory. Nothing could exceed the kind attention and courtesy I met with from all engaged in them. The work is but beginning in Sicily, but it is full of hope for the future. I may add, that I was much struck with the manifest good results that the military schools are producing amongst Sicilian conscripts. You know that in Sicily conscription was previously unknown, and consequently much dreaded. Yet I fell in with two or three cases which showed what might be hoped from it. In one of the villages between Messina and Catania a young soldier was just come home on short leave, on account of the death of his father. In that village, as elsewhere, there had been great dread of the conscription. But when the neighbours saw this young man again amongst them, and observed how much he had gained in the way of education—that he could read, write, and cipher well, and talk Italian,—whilst they all knew that on leaving home he could not read at all, and could only speak his own dialect; and when they saw how much he was improved in general bearing, and heard his own account of his treatment in the army, the general feeling in that village was quite changed, and fear of the conscription at an end. Another very intelligent young soldier from the neighbourhood of Syracuse was on board ship with us as we were returning to Naples; he told us "there had been very great dread of the conscription in our part of Sicily, but now that five or six of my comrades and myself have been home on leave, and our neighbours have seen what we have gained by our army life,—that we

have had good instruction, and that the lies that were circulated about our bad treatment and food were only calumnies,—their feelings are entirely changed." We were struck with his feeling of pride in being one of the National Army of Italy. "I have gone with my regiment," he said, "through different provinces of Italy, and every where we are received as brothers; this gives us a new feeling, we are no longer a little people, but form part of a great nation." He showed considerable acquaintance with the Bible, and added, "I know that no Christian who knows the Scriptures can consent to idolatry, but it grieves me to own that there are many of my countrymen who, from ignorance, worship in a way that it is difficult to call by another name." Next to the Parliament, the Army is now, perhaps, the most manifest embodiment of Italian Unity. There are no longer provincial regiments,—Piedmontese, Lombard, Tuscan, Neapolitan, &c., but each regiment is a thorough mixture of Italians, Northern, Central, and Southern. Every regiment has its school. The officers take a regular share in the duty of instructing their men. Such instances as I have just given can leave little doubt, I feel, that if the present system continues a few years, the Army will prove one of the most effective means for educating and knitting together the Italian people; and as these soldiers return to their homes they will effectually aid in increasing in their respective neighbourhoods the sentiment of National Loyalty, and by their example will tend to raise the level of public education.

Rome's influence over the Army Chaplains, who are

attached to each regiment, is but slight. They are, to a man, with the Government. Several have volunteered to celebrate the Te Deum on the National Fête for the Unity of Italy.

In Naples, also, I may just notice a few points of contrast between the late and present régime as regards popular education:—

In 1860, *no* Normal Training School.

In 1863, one for Masters and one for Mistresses, containing 32 and 40 Students respectively.

In 1860, there appear to have been *no* public Evening Schools.

Last winter the Municipality opened fourteen, which were attended by about 1000 scholars, adults and lads. It is not, of course, to be expected that a population so long neglected as regards education, and that has been accustomed to so low a state of ignorance and superstition as the masses of Southern Italy, should all at once appreciate the benefits of improved instruction now offered to them; so that it would be unfair, for instance, to expect as large a proportionate attendance in Neapolitan and Sicilian Evening Schools, now in their commencement, as in Genoa. But I was thankful to see the attendance so good as it was in these newly opened Night Schools, and also to see the keen interest of the scholars in their work. Generally speaking, the Evening Schools in the south are attended by a much larger proportion of boys than adults; in this respect the reverse of Genoa. There was also a marked difference between north and south in the general cleanly, comfortable appearance and neatness of dress of the one, as contrasted with

the far greater squalor of the other, which gave to some of the classes a resemblance to our own "ragged schools," though there were also very many cheering exceptions, and the whole thing was full of cheering features. I was particularly struck with the generous self-devotion of one excellent Priest and a large staff of his private school assistants, in opening one of the largest Night Schools, and working it in his own private school-rooms. This good man is one of the numerous private tutors, as we might call them, who prepare young men for the University examinations in Naples. He has about 100 lads as boarders in his house, in addition to a large number of day pupils. When the movement for public Evening Schools commenced, he asked his assistants if they would join him in devoting their evenings to work for the poor classes—all kindly agreed; and we found his school-rooms filled with nearly 200 lads and young men, all of the lower classes, but all working away with a right good will. He told us he hoped to get this School firmly established, and then hand it over to the care of the municipality. Yet, he added, that he was coldly looked upon by his ecclesiastical superiors for this; in fact, was rather a marked man. I could not but tell him that I felt that both he and his assistants were most honourably marked by such devotion to a truly Christian and patriotic work, when their own not light day's work was over. Passaglia, I may add, told me that in Rome, some years ago, he himself found that he was coldly looked upon for a like reason; he devoted himself vigorously to Night Schools for similar classes, till the work proved too much for his health. It was a curious token of the

changed times in Naples, to find one of the most advanced of these Evening Schools (the scholars in which were amongst the most neat and comfortable-looking) at work in the old Dominican convent, famous as the abode of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the scene of his teaching. The School is entirely in the hands of the municipality, and the convent itself, like so many others, in course of gradual extinction, a few monks only remaining; and as we saw one and another of them silently flitting through their cloisters in the dark evening, they seemed like shades of the past, rather than men of the present. When one thought how very much the scholastic teaching of their anciently-renowned master had given way to the surer processes of modern thought and instruction; and, still more, when one thought of the dark memories that must ever cling to the Dominican order—as Inquisitors—their unflinching struggles to quench the first dawning rays of freedom of thought and conscience on the revival of Scriptural light and general learning, this Neapolitan School, thrust in among the inmates of this convent against their will, seemed no unfair illustration of Macaulay's words (History of England, chap. i.): "From the time when the barbarians overran the Western Empire to the time of the revival of letters, the influence of the Church of Rome had been generally favourable to science, to civilization, and to good government. But during the last three centuries, to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been made in spite of her, and has every where been in

inverse proportion to her power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal domination." I could hardly expect, however, that the two Priests who, as forming part of the Municipal Committee of School Management, most kindly and courteously accompanied us in visiting these Schools, should very readily respond to such reflections, though they kindly refrained from demurring.

On the first visit of King Victor Emmanuel to Naples, one of his acts was to grant 80,000 francs from his privy purse for the establishment of Infant Schools, which had not previously existed in Naples, but of which Cavour had, years before, appreciated the benefit, and which he had been among the first to introduce and largely carry out in Turin. There are now ten of these "Asylums," as they are called, though they are only Day Schools. They comprise some 1200 to 1400 children, who remain all day, and are provided with dinner and a piece of bread in the afternoon, and also clothed in a neat dress during school-hours, but do not take it home. These schools are supported mainly by the municipality, but also partly by private contributions, through the "Society

of the Private Municipal Infant Asylums." The noble-hearted, earnest Secretary of this Society—Signor Alfonso della Valle, of the ducal family of that name—takes the deepest interest in this work; indeed, appears the life and soul of it. He would fain have a vein of voluntary, loving charity run through the official help of the Municipality. I was sorry to read the mournful tone in which he pleads for this in the Report for this year, for he is obliged to bemoan the falling off of interest on the part of too many of the private contributors. He most kindly and courteously took me through several of these schools, which are in excellent order,—some of them under Piedmontese Sisters of Charity, previously experienced in the same work in Turin. I well remember the deep feeling shown by one of these excellent Sisters on speaking of Count Cavour, who had first brought her, with some of her companions, from Ivrea, to work in Turin. Some are under ordinary mistresses. The general cleanliness, good order, cheerfulness, and progress of the little children were very gratifying; specially when one contrasted them with the numbers of poor little squalid creatures that abound in the crowded back streets of Naples. I was greatly struck with the way in which Signor Alfonso della Valle had manifestly won their hearts. They all brightened up as he came among them, and both teachers and children evidently looked up to him with gratitude and affection as their true friend. If there were many young Laymen of education and position like him in Southern Italy, things would, indeed, be in a different state; zealous, earnest, reverent, in the religious faith in which he has been trained, yet keenly

alive to the wretchedly low moral and intellectual condition of the masses of his countrymen, both in the Neapolitan and remaining Papal states; combining deep attachment to his Church, with patriotic love of his country, such as won him personal tokens of esteem from Garibaldi, and drew forth as honestly indignant expressions of scorn for Antonelli and his policy, as I have often heard from Italian lips. One could but long to see far more of his conscientious, earnest spirit at work amongst young Italian Laymen, who have similar opportunities for promoting the welfare of the poorer classes of their countrymen. From a return, kindly furnished to me in Naples, it appears that in the various Public Schools connected with the municipality—Infant, Elementary, and Evening—also including the Normal Training Schools, with the Gymnasium and Lyceum, there were last December 10,520 scholars. I need not say what a contrast this shows between North and South Italy, when Genoa, with not a third of the population of Naples (which is estimated at over 400,000), has so very much larger a number; but in Naples, as in Sicily, popular education is but beginning, and the present beginning gives great good hope for the future. I must not omit to mention that the Italian ladies, to whom Garibaldi appealed on behalf of the neglected children of their more destitute countrymen, fitly commenced their response to that appeal by opening a school for 100 children at Torre del Greco last year, immediately after the devastation of the place during the last eruption of Vesuvius. I have seen many Mission Schools amongst recent converts in heathen countries, but never saw a set of poor

children for whom such a charitable work seemed more needed. Two energetic mistresses were procured from Tuscany; and these little wild, squalid, unkempt creatures, literally gathered out of the streets, soon began to be brought into something like order and comparative tidiness, and the school continues to make satisfactory progress.

The Vaudois and "Free Evangelical" Italians wisely consider schools as forming not the least important side of their evangelical work. They have schools in connexion with their work in all the large centres. In Naples there are two excellent Day Schools, and an Adult Night School in connexion with Signor Appia's and Marchese Cresi's congregations. No one who has attended the annual examinations, as I have twice had the pleasure of doing, and listened to the remarkable proficiency of the children in Scriptural Knowledge, can doubt, that, so far as their influence reaches, such schools must powerfully tell in leading the rising generation to follow the example of the "more noble" Bereans, and test their religious teachers, as St. Paul was so thankful to be tested, by "searching the Scriptures daily to see whether those things were so." God grant a like result may follow now, and many be led to believe to the saving of their souls! The energetic Pastor of the Scotch Free Kirk in Naples, Rev. H. Buscarlet, is the mainspring of this feature of the school work. The general secular instruction is also very good. If I remark as a cheering feature that one of these Schools is *paying*, it is because the Public Schools for the lower classes are all *gratuitous*. Many who are most zealous in promoting national educa-

tion are alive to this defect, and hope that it will in course of time be remedied. The "Evangelization Committee" in Naples, who succour the Italians in their work, very fairly point to this paying School as a cheering proof of the interest felt by the parents, and also as a test of the sincerity of the converts, in refutation of the common taunt that converts are bought over.

The Committee fairly say, "We were far from persuading ourselves, three years ago, that these people would unloose their purse-strings in order to make their sons Protestants."

The University of Naples is attended by a very large body of Students, estimated at from 8000 to 10,000. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact numbers, owing to the fact that matriculation is not required of the Students. Degrees are conferred on all who can pass the needful examinations in the different faculties, without reference to any previous connexion with the University, neither is attendance on the Lectures of the University Professors at all obligatory. If the Professors are able and in general repute, their Lectures are largely attended. If not, private tuition supplies their place. There are a very large number of Private Tutors in Naples who have their own Lecture-rooms, and draw large classes. From amongst these the seventy University Professors are often recruited. This has for a very long time been a peculiarity of the Naples University system, and when recently an attempt was made by Signor Matteucci, late Minister of Public Instruction, to place Naples under the same system that he wished to carry out in all the Italian Universities, requiring all

students to pass certain examinations on leaving the Lyceum in order to qualify them for entering the University, such a vigorous opposition was raised in the Naples University that the scheme was, in that case, dispensed with, and the University is allowed at present to continue on its ancient plan, which it is asserted has worked remarkably well; the consequence is, that out of so large a number of students only two took the trouble to matriculate last year. In the Sicilian Universities the result of the new system of more stringent preparatory examinations has been at present to diminish the number of students entering, an inevitable but wholesome result, for the old standard had been far too low and the system lax. Classical studies appear to have fallen to a wonderfully low ebb, amongst the generality of Italian University Students. I visited several classical Lecture-rooms, for Lectures are open to all comers, and was surprised to see how extremely few students attended the Greek and Latin Classes, specially the former; the Professors also testified to the small extent to which Classical Studies are pursued in general. In the Universities, generally speaking, the faculties of Law and Medicine embrace by far the largest proportion of Students. There are also many intending to pursue Civil Engineering and Architecture. The number of these appears to be on the increase. The Natural Science Classes are largely attended, as they bear upon Medicine and other pursuits. Pure Mathematics do not appear to be generally studied to any great extent. There are also a considerable number of students intending to qualify themselves as Professors in the Gymnasiums and Lyceums. These

are, of course, also likely to contribute future University Professors. Many of these latter students are in the "Convitti Nazionali," which the Government is organizing with a view to a supply of good masters for the higher Schools. These "Convitti" answer most nearly to our idea of Colleges. In several instances, as in Pisa and elsewhere, they are attached to the University. There are Government "purses," Scholarships we might call them, for deserving students, open to competition. There is a resident staff of Professors, who give lectures and regulate the discipline of the College. They have a common hall for meals, with a "high table" for the Professors or "Fellows." The students have the opportunity of attending the University Lectures. In the Pisa "Convitto" an English Clergyman, of much experience in English public School work, holds a post as Professor of Modern Languages. The Head of the College is Professor Villari, the well-known Professor of Italian Literature in the University of Pisa. Professor Villari was last year sent by the Italian Government to visit Germany, France, and Great Britain, to examine and report upon their various systems of higher public education. At the same time another Neapolitan Professor was sent to study the systems of popular education for the masses. Professor Villari visited Oxford and Cambridge (but unfortunately not in Term time), as well as our great public schools. He said he found the London and Scotch Universities much the most nearly correspond to the Universities in Italy. He appeared much impressed with the way in which he found the influence of the Bible, and religious instruction based upon

it, pervading our National education. In the Pisa "Convitto" no special religious instruction is given; mass is said on Sunday mornings, but there is no daily religious service. One feature that strikes an Englishman familiar with our old Universities, is the almost entire absence of two classes which form such important elements in Oxford and Cambridge: those, I mean, from whom are drawn our Landed Proprietors, Members of Parliament, Country Gentlemen, and Clergy. There appears, indeed, to be no large Italian class fairly corresponding to our landed gentry resident on their estates, but it is to be regretted that the sons of many families of the "noblesse" have not hitherto been generally accustomed to benefit by University training. Instead of this they have either been educated in Jesuit or other Clerical Seminaries, or very frequently brought up at home, with a private Tutor, generally a Priest; and the result too often is, that they have fallen behindhand in intellectual cultivation, instead of being ready to take a leading position in public affairs. There are, of course, many brilliant exceptions: Cavour and Ricasoli alone suffice to show that. No doubt, also, the tendency amongst too many to rest content in a comparatively low standard of cultivation and frivolous life, has arisen from the lack of that wholesome stimulus to the honourable ambition of serving their country in public life, which could hardly exist, and could not flourish, so long as Italy was subdivided under such régimes as have now happily passed away.

It is to be hoped that the present national rekindling of political life, as well as intellectual activity, will rouse

a more general appreciation of the immense benefit to be derived from that free mingling of various ranks, and fair competition in intellectual struggles, which University training so specially furnishes, and which, assuredly, has proved in England not one of the least influential means for developing and strengthening national life. The absence of the other class,—the future clergy of the country,—is the work of Rome. The numerous Theological Professorships still existing in the Italian Universities testify to a more wholesome state of things, when, like our own old "seminaries of sound learning, and religious education," they furnished "a supply of men duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State." But Rome has systematically worked out her aim of absorbing all ecclesiastical power into the centre, whereby not only the rights of the Laity in the Church have fallen into utter abeyance, but also,—to use the words of Perfetti and others,—"the Priests are now swallowed up in their Bishops, and the Bishops in the Pope;" so that in place of the ancient independent positions, rights, and responsibilities of the various ranks of the Church, combined in due subordination, and knit together by mutual charity, the system of Rome has become "a spiritual autocracy," as thousands of her liberal Priests now declare. Meantime, she seems to have felt that the most effective means to her end, viz. welding together her ecclesiastics into a compact army, acting upon a simple spirit of military obedience, and ready implicitly to do her bidding, was to withdraw them from that sympathy and association with their Lay brethren, which University

life and training must give. She has undoubtedly succeeded to a very great degree in that aim, but at the cost of great past and present wholesome *influence*, however much she may have advanced her claims of *authority;* and it now remains to be seen how far the system she has worked out of isolating her clerical students in Episcopal Seminaries will bear the strain of changed national life in Italy. It seems unlikely that, whilst the intellectual life of the country is flowing with renewed energy in channels which she has deliberately abandoned, or is trying to obstruct, and whilst a spirit of religious inquiry and free discussion is becoming awakened, a Clergy drawn so largely from the lower ranks, shut up from very early youth, for twelve or fifteen years, in Seminaries entirely apart from Lay intercourse, and subjected to a limited and thoroughly one-sided training, should be found well fitted for the arena on which they have now to enter. Such is the acknowledged conviction of some of Rome's ablest theologians and deepest thinkers in Italy at present. Passaglia, Perfetti, and many others, say without hesitation that the present system of Episcopal Seminaries must be abandoned or profoundly modified, if the Clergy are to hope to retain influence amongst an educated Laity[5]. They

[5] In many instances where sees are vacant from death, or absence of the Bishops, the Seminaries are at present closed. I was told of twelve in the Dioceses adjoining Naples now closed. The number of vacant sees is fast increasing; upwards of fifty are now vacant by death. Out of eighty-seven Neapolitan sees forty-three were vacant

declare that for many years past the instruction given in the Seminaries has been steadily deteriorating, instead of keeping pace with the improved education of the Laity. The present religious condition of Italy certainly shows how very widely they have already lost influence; and the measure proposed by Passaglia in the last session of the Italian Parliament points to the remedy which he and the many who think with him consider indispensable, viz. the return of theological students to the wider training of Public Schools and University life. Passaglia boldly moved that all ecclesiastical benefices in the patronage of the Crown and corporate bodies should henceforth be given only to Priests who could produce testimonials of having obtained a University degree, or, at the least, of having passed the Gymnasium and Lyceum examinations. There appears, however, little prospect of Rome's abandoning her deliberately adopted line. The theological faculty in the Universities is practically defunct; for it is literally the case, as was shown in the Parliamentary debate, that in most of the Universities the theological professors are more numerous than the students. It is well known that for years past the Bishops have

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by death and absence last spring. It is to be remembered, however, that Italy furnishes nearly one-third of the whole Roman Catholic Episcopate—274 Bishoprics exclusive, I believe, of Sicily—so that a reduction of two-thirds of the number would still leave more Bishops, in proportion to the population, than either France or Spain deem needful.

looked with suspicion upon University clerical students, and in some instances have formally interdicted their clergy and students from attending even theological lectures in the Universities. A curious instance of this occurred last winter in Pisa [6]. One of the theological professors in most repute applied for the loan of a room in the "Convitto Nazionale," in which to deliver his lectures. He stated that the Archbishop of Pisa had prohibited his clergy from attending lectures in the University, but that several Priests had expressed a desire to attend his lectures, and he hoped that a room in the "Convitto" might be deemed neutral ground, sufficiently out of the pale of the University to escape the Archbishop's interdict. The natural result of the line taken by Rome is, of course, to lead the Laity to feel that theological professorships had better be put an end to. This was proposed during the last session of Parliament; and the Minister of Public Instruction was understood to agree to the suggestion, that as the chairs of theology fell vacant, they should not be filled again. In Naples the faculty is abolished. Certainly, there seems no feature of Rome's ecclesiastical machinery more suggestive to us, as English Churchmen, *by way of contrast*, than her Diocesan Seminaries in

[6] As a proof of the growing separation between the Church and the old Educational Institutions, I may mention that in Pisa the Cardinal Archbishop was formerly *ex officio* Chancellor of the University, and all Degrees were conferred in his Chancellor's Court. Now this connexion is, I understand, entirely dissolved.

Italy, productive as they have proved of a class of clergy so widely separated from their Lay brethren in sympathy and association. Often and often I have felt, whilst in Italy, that it would indeed be a grievous day for us if our Universities should fail to send forth a supply of men duly qualified to serve God in Church as well as in State, and if our Diocesan Theological Colleges should tend to *supplant*, instead of *supplement* our old Universities in that most important work.

Whilst the present vigorous development of National Education amongst all classes in Italy is running in channels apart from, and in great measure opposed to the influence of Rome, her own powers of influencing lay education are meantime decreasing. I have already referred to the abolition of Jesuit teaching, and the substitution of an opposing influence in its place. The recent deplorable case of the College of the "Christian Brethren" in Turin is adding a powerful impulse in the same direction. Happily for the honour of the Italian Clergy, none of the chief actors in these revolting transactions were, I believe, Italian Priests, though, as may well be imagined, the feeling against Rome has not been diminished by the belief that the guilty head of the College, with some of his abettors, found refuge in Rome. The College, as you are aware, was at once closed; and I see that recently, at the request of many of the leading Laymen in Turin, the Prefect of the city summoned a very influential public meeting, to take steps for the establishment of a new Institution, which should afford better safeguards for the morality of their children. I was much struck with the

tone of the leading Journals in Turin, in speaking of this painful case. "The Opinione," amongst others, said:—"It is useless to deceive ourselves. Italy is in a much worse position, as regards public education, than England and other Protestant countries. *There*, in England, the old Educational Institutions are freely and safely confided to the care of the Clergy, because their position gives every guarantee for their wholesome, moral, and religious influence, as well as for their discharge of their duties as citizens. *Here*, unfortunately, these guarantees are wanting, and we see that we cannot entrust our children with the same confidence to the care of Priests. It behoves us, therefore, to take steps to secure what we need by other means." There are still many admirably conducted "Scuole Pie," under the care of the Scolopian Fathers, in Tuscany and elsewhere. I was greatly interested in their very large and efficient school in Florence, containing 1200 pupils. They have also a branch school, with 400 more pupils, in the city; yet there are tokens that, as the Government Public Schools progress, their influence diminishes. In Genoa these schools are now closed. Nor is it wonderful that the jealousy of those who desire a united Italy should be roused even against these excellent Institutions, when recently the Government detected, and the Journals published, a circular, sent to these Fathers from the Head of their order in Rome, granting them permission, in order to save appearances in the eyes of the Government, to attend with their pupils at the National Fête for the "*so-called*" "Unity of Italy," but strictly enjoining withdrawal if any religious celebration took

place. What can Italians think of the loyalty, and even the honesty, likely to be inculcated under such influences?

I must apologize for having run on to so much greater length than I had anticipated; but I felt anxious to give you as fair a sketch as I could of the present educational, as well as directly religious movements we noticed; for I constantly felt that the one appeared to be telling almost as directly and powerfully upon the future of the Church and country as the other. May I venture, in conclusion, to express my earnest hope that an increasing number of English Churchmen, and of our brethren of the Reformed Episcopal Church, may be led to follow your own example, and personally investigate the present religious condition of Italy? How many are there who, like ourselves, are led to Italy simply in search of health and information, who might find, just as we have found, many opportunities, from one end of the country to the other, for coming into contact with both Priests and Laymen, whose minds are deeply stirred by the crisis through which both Church and State are passing? Many of these men are growing in the conviction that the present claims of Rome are unscriptural and uncatholic, incompatible alike with the spiritual welfare of the Church and the political harmony of the State, and generally adverse to wholesome intellectual and social progress. Judging from our own experience, which you will, I believe, fully confirm, there is the greatest readiness amongst thoughtful Italians to welcome friendly intercourse, and interchange of ideas upon religious and educational questions,

when assured, as I have always taken pains frankly to assure our friends, that we had no *proselytizing* aims in view; for that we felt it as unlikely that Italians could become Anglicans, as that we could adopt their national habits of life. But there is, I am sure, a large field and wide scope before us of the Reformed Episcopal Church for giving information and sympathy to those who are struggling, often under heavy discouragements and difficulties, to work out their own ideas of Church Reform, and return to a purer and more primitive faith and worship in their own way. I believe that since the Reformation there has never been such a manifest call of Providence to rouse us to do all we possibly can to help our Italian brethren in this way. We have hitherto done very little, though you and we alike have seen that that little has not been labour in vain. The Anglo-Continental Association, as I understand, has never yet received sufficient support to enable it to do any thing like the work it might fairly do; other channels, taking a wider scope than its special object, are, as you are aware, open to all who may be willing to help. I earnestly hope and pray that your influential voice and pen may lead many to interest themselves in a country to which we ourselves ages ago were so deeply indebted for the rekindling of Christianity and civilization amongst us; and I cannot but hope that the present eventful changes in Italy may be overruled to the clearing away of much of the mutual misapprehension, ignorance, and prejudice that has too long unhappily divided Christians, and that in God's good time there may be a nearer

approach to the "one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."

Forgive my troubling you at such length, and allow me to subscribe myself, with deep respect,

Your sincere Friend,

AN ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

To the Rev. Canon Wordsworth, D.D.,

&c. &c.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE title-page will have informed the reader that the Tour, of which an account is given in the present publication, was undertaken by the Author for the purpose of observing the state of Religion in Italy.

He was disposed to believe, before he set out from England, that the present juncture of Italian affairs may perhaps prove more important to the Church in Italy than any crisis in her history since the days of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century.

That impression was strengthened by his visit to that country.

The Author's design, in the following pages, will have been fully accomplished, if they serve to shed any light on the religious condition of Italy; and to render any assistance, however small, to the endeavours of those loyal and disinterested persons in that country, who are labouring to build up and consolidate the fabric of constitutional Monarchy, and of social Order, Prosperity, and Peace, on the foundations of true Religion; and to restore the Church of Italy to the purity, liberty, and vigour, which distinguished her in ancient times.

Cloisters, Westminster Abbey,
Jan. 3, 1863.

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CHAPTER I.

LONDON TO BÂLE.

Tuesday, May 13th, 1862.—Left London-bridge at seven A.M. for Dover: among the passengers were some Irish Roman Catholic Priests going to Rome for the great gathering there at Whitsuntide. From Calais by Lille to Mouscron, the Belgian frontier: beautiful cultivation, fine crops, gardens in excellent order. At Mouscron a respectable-looking man, about fifty-six years of age, got into the carriage,—a second-class one,—he asked me whether there were not many new churches being built in England. "Yes." "Were they for *Catholiques?*" "Yes; they are built for the worship of God according to the ritual of the Church of England, which is *Catholique.*" "But you do not believe in the *présence*

réelle?" "We do not believe in a *carnal* presence; but we believe that the body and blood of Christ are received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." "But you do not believe in Purgatory?" "No." "Nor practise Confession?" "Yes—to God: and when the conscience cannot otherwise be quieted, the penitent is exhorted to go to the priest and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice; but as for the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, we do not find it in Scripture, and it was not believed by the Ancient Church: it is no part 'of the Faith delivered to the Saints,' and we therefore cannot receive it, and we call ourselves *Catholiques*, *because* we belong to the *Catholic Church* and hold the *Catholic faith;* and we think that the Church of Rome has exposed herself to the charge of heresy and schism, because she adds new dogmas to the Ancient Faith; (such as the recently-published dogma of the Immaculate Conception;) and because she enforces them on all as necessary to salvation, and therefore we are sure that she is not *the* Catholic Church;

and thus also we know, that the Pope, who has put forth this new doctrine, is in error, and therefore cannot be infallible: and we feel also much alarm for those who build their religion on the foundation of the Pope's *supposed* infallibility. What will become of those who rest their faith on that foundation? What will become of many among them when that foundation is taken away? Will they not become infidels?".

"But," replied he, "if you had the proper dispositions of heart you would receive all that Rome teaches, and would not pretend to be a judge of her doctrines;" and he instanced the case of an unbeliever, who, he said, had been brought under the influence of a saintly Confessor, lately dead, whose name he mentioned, and had embraced the true faith, unhesitatingly and devoutly, and was immediately transported into a holy ecstasy of joy and rapture—"bonheur inconcevable." "There," said he, "was a *practical* proof of the truth of the doctrines of the Church of Rome."

How often does Romanism come into close contact with Methodism, by making faith to be purely *subjective!*

I ventured to submit to his consideration whether such notions as these might not eventually give a great advantage and triumph to Infidelity; and whether perhaps it may not be on account of the prevalence of such notions that there is so much of *incrédulité* in this country. No religion can stand, unless it be based on Reason; not as if Reason could *discover* Articles of *Faith;* but Reason can prove that the Holy Scripture is God's Word, and Reason can show that certain doctrines are rightly deduced from Scripture, and so Reason leads to Faith.

"Have you ever read the works of François de Sales?" he asked; "*there* you would see the perfection of Christianity, and some of the strongest arguments against heresy."

The train stopped—and just before he got out of the carriage he apologized courteously for having said any thing that might have caused me pain; for which I assured him there was no reason. Here was a person of the rank of a small tenant-farmer, taking much interest in religious affairs, and endeavouring to make a religious impression on a stranger. Might not we profit by such examples of

spiritual earnestness and zeal? In the same carriage there were two Irishmen also of the middle class, who gave an interesting account of the religious movement in the west of Ireland, under the direction of the Bishop of Tuam, and by means of an Irish-speaking clergy (*there* is the great secret of its success); and they bore testimony to the permanence of its effect in the formation of regular congregations. They said that the recent appeal of the Pope for "Peter's Pence" had not been successful in Ireland, and that the Irish who had gone to Italy to join the Papal Legion, had come back disappointed and disconcerted by the treatment they had received.

Arrived at *Cologne*, Hôtel du Nord, at 4.40 in the morning.

Cologne, Wednesday.—Walked out at half-past six A.M.; found a large congregation in the magnificent cathedral: indeed there were three different congregations at three several altars in the church. No excitement; it was only Low Mass: the people were mostly of the poorer class. Went also to two other churches, the Church of St. Andrew and the Jesuits: good congregations in both those

churches; most of them had books and were following the Service. Went again to the cathedral at ten o'clock: another large congregation of better-dressed people. High Mass. Have we any thing like this manifestation of public devotion in any of our cities in England on *week-days?* Cologne is rather an exceptional place, I believe. It has an air of leisure, not to say laziness, in its streets; and it preserves the traditions of mediæval life more perhaps than any great towns of Rhenish Prussia.

At half-past eleven went on by railway by Mayence: schools making a holiday in parties, attended by Sisters of Mercy, the caps of the children wreathed with flowers: arrived at *Frankfort*, Hôtel de Russie, at half-past six P.M.

Thursday, *May* 14*th*.—Left Frankfort at half-past ten A.M. for Bâle; a beautiful journey of about 180 miles, having the Black Forest on our left, and the distant hills of the Vosges on our right: crops very forward in the valleys, ripe cherries sold at the stations: one of our companions was a young Jew reading a little old Hebrew manual, "labra movens,"—

and almost aloud, as the Ethiopian did in his chariot, when returning from Jerusalem. Another of our fellow-travellers was a négociant of Hamburg, who informed us that the principal article of his personal expenditure was cigars, of which he smoked a dozen a day, and that he had just purchased a box containing 1000. We passed some large, open, ventilated sheds by the road-side, which, he informed us, were for drying tobacco: had a distant view of the spire of Strasbourg on the right, and after some time passed by Freiburg, with its beautiful pierced spire on the left,—a place which has derived much celebrity from the works of the learned Roman Catholic Divine, Dr. B. Von Hirscher, the Dean of that church, and Professor of Theology in the University of that city.

Dr. Hirscher's book on the present state of the Church—"Die kirchlichen Zustände," published at *Tübingen*, 1849, has been translated into French by M. A. Stappaerts (Anvers, 1851), and into English by Dr. A. Cleveland Coxe of Baltimore, who has prefixed to it an interesting preface (Oxford, 1852), and into Italian by Count Tasca (Milan,

1862). It is one of the most candid and eloquent statements that have ever appeared, of the desire for Reformation which is felt by devout and learned Roman Catholic Divines. The Author draws a clear and striking picture of the difficulties in which the Roman Catholic Church in Germany was placed, in 1849, by its separation from the State, and at the same time displays the advantages which it might derive from the possession of greater freedom of action. He earnestly advises the formation of *Diocesan* Synods, in which the *Laity* as well as the Clergy should have a part, for the management of the property and the maintenance of the discipline of the Church, and gives a programme of the questions which should be discussed at these Synods;—

1. Measures to be adopted for the improvement of Education, especially Clerical Education.

2. Measures to be adopted for the recovery of the great mass of the people—now alienated from the Church, and what benefits may be derived from religious "Conferences."

3. Liturgical Reforms. Revision of the Breviary, &c.: whether the Liturgy should not

be in the mother tongue of the people? Reforms in the pompous ceremonial of the Church. Communion in *both kinds*. Abuses in the lax administration of the Holy Communion "in articulo mortis." Reform of abuses in Confession and Absolution. Reform of abuses connected with the doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences. Abuses in the worship of saints, "tending to Polytheism."

4. Discipline: abolition of celibacy of Clergy.

5. The introduction of the "Lay Element" into Church Synods.

6. Abuses in religious *confraternities*.

These are the subjects which are discussed by Dr. Hirscher in his Essay; and his learning and high position give additional interest to his work, especially in these times.

May 16; *Bâle, Hôtel de la Cigogne.*—Early in the morning walked to the bridge over the Rhine. Very picturesque; lofty houses with high pitched roofs; windows with bright green shutters; lofty turrets with variegated tiling of rich colours, like porcelain; gardens interspersed among the houses, with acacias in full bloom, and creepers mantling over the edge of the river, which was flowing in a rapid, clear,

dark green stream, sweeping along with a glorious "pomp of waters." The city clean and cheerful.

The old Cathedral—now in the hands of the Reformed or Calvinists—stands on a noble site; a high terrace over the left bank of the Rhine. On the north side is a very interesting old doorway with sculptures representing the Last Judgment. The venerable Cathedral is kept in good order. Beautiful stained windows, from Munich. Modern Calvinism is much more tolerant than its former self; witness these windows at Bâle, and the magnificent recent additions to Glasgow Cathedral. Bishop Sanderson would not have any occasion to preach such a sermon[1] as he did to the people of Lincolnshire, who in their zeal for reformation destroyed the stained windows of Boston Church. Norman clerestory; apse, where the high altar once stood, are seats in parallel lines for the principal male members of the congregation. The women are separated from the men on benches in the nave, which are ingeniously contrived with moveable backs, so that the persons who occupy them may look either to the east

[1] On Rom. iii. 8.

or west. There is a large new organ. The congregation rarely kneels. There is not daily service; but only service on Sundays, and two week-days. The Holy Communion is administered once a month: the Ecclesiastics sit behind (i.e. to the east of) the Table, which, singular enough, is of *stone*, and the communicants come up to it, one by one, and receive standing.

One of the most interesting remains of mediæval art is the golden altar-front given to this cathedral by the Emperor Henry II. (about A.D. 1000) and his wife Cunegonde as a Thank-offering to our Blessed Lord for his recovery from sickness, and with the following inscription containing a singular mixture of various languages, and showing the transition of versification from quantity to accent. It is now in the Hôtel Cluny, at Paris:—

"Quis sicut *Hel*[2] fortis, medicus, *Soter*[3] benedictus?
Respice terrigenas clemens Mediator usias[4]."

There is a beautiful old Font in this Cathedral: but it is never used. Baptism is administered with a silver basin on the altar: the

[2] *El*, Hebrew for GOD. [3] *Soter*, Greek for SAVIOUR.
[4] *Usias*, Greek for (οὐσίας) *beings*.

father is always present and gives the name. But they have also three God-parents, or rather Witnesses. There is a hymn book—but no prayer book for the people. The "Herr Antistes," (is not this title a practical testimony to Episcopacy?) or other minister, uses a book with prayers. I applied for a copy, and was supplied with one in sheets (it is a small volume of 250 pages in large type) for five and a half francs; the reason why its price was so high is that only a few copies are printed for the use of the Clergy alone.

The Church of Rome withholds the Scriptures from the People: and keeps her Prayers shut up in a dead language, for the most part—whenever she has her own way, and excludes the people from participating in them, and does not allow them to obey St. Paul's precept, "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also[5]." But may not those *Protestant* Communities, which confine the use of liturgical offices to their *Ministers*, and do not invite the *People* to participate in them, be chargeable also with a want of due

[5] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

appreciation of the true character of *public* prayer,—of *common* prayer? Are they not even in some degree liable to the imputation, with which the Church of Rome is justly charged, of making divine service into an "opus operatum"—a work transacted wholly by the Minister? However, let us be thankful for the liturgical offices, in the vernacular tongue, which are still preserved among them. I have been agreeably surprised by much that is contained in this little volume to which I have referred, which was printed at Bâle in 1826. It is a Ritual for the use, not only of this Church, but of *all* the Evangelical Churches of the Canton. Its Preface, which bears the signature of Hieronimus Falkeisen, "Antistes und Archidecanus," expresses a desire that *uniformity* of *worship* may be maintained in all the Churches of the Canton.

It begins with forms of Prayer to be used before and after sermons on Sundays and week-days. There is also a form of Prayer for the monthly day of supplication. These forms of prayer are very long, and not broken by responses; and the whole work of offering prayer —as far as its outward expression is concerned

—devolves entirely on the *Minister*. This is the character of all the offices in this volume. In all the 250 pages of which it consists, there are not, I think, a hundred words which are to be uttered by the *people*.

After the forms of Prayer for Sundays we have Prayers before and after the instruction of children; next is a long general form of confession, prayer, and thanksgiving to be used when there is no sermon, but when the Scripture is read, with a short exposition—a very excellent formulary, if its structure had been more popular: there are eleven pages, in which the Minister alone bears any part in the office. This is followed by Prayers for Holy-days: which are *Christmas Day*; *Last Day of the Year*; *New Year's Day*; *Palm Sunday*; *Maundy Thursday*; *Good Friday*; *Easter Day*; *Ascension Day*; *Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*; there is also a special office for the *Autumnal Communion Day* (*Herbst-Kommuniontag*).

Next follows the Office for *Infant Baptism*. It begins with stating the authority, in Holy Scripture, for the baptism of *Infants*, and with a declaration of what baptism is. Here

as might be expected, the peculiar teaching of the school of Calvin shows itself. It reminds the Parents, and Witnesses of the baptism (*Taufzeugen*), that they are bound to remind the child of its baptism, and of the prayers offered in its behalf, and of the promises made in its name. The *Apostles' Creed* is then recited by the Minister, who asks the Parents whether they engage to bring up the child in this faith, to which they reply "Yes." The Minister then inquires of the Parents or Witnesses what the name of the child is to be; and then he administers the baptism with the same words as are in the English Liturgy; and offers a thanksgiving to God that the child has been born "in the bosom of the Christian Church, and that God has graciously vouchsafed that the seal of Christianity, and of His children, and the stamp of Christ's sheep, should be impressed upon him." And a prayer is offered, "that, as he is baptized with water, so he may be baptized with the Blood and Spirit of Christ."

The Office for *Baptism* is followed by one for *Confirmation*. This is a long Office, occupying more than twenty pages.

It begins with an address to the congregation, on the uses of Confirmation; which is followed by prayer to God; and this is succeeded by a serious and earnest exhortation to the Candidates; in which they are reminded that they have been baptized in the name of the Blessed Trinity, and have been brought up in the true faith, the principal articles of which are then rehearsed and explained. A series of questions is then addressed to the Candidates. "Do they willingly and openly profess their belief in these articles? Are they duly thankful to God for His mercies spiritual and temporal? Are they resolved, by God's grace, to serve Him truly unto their lives' end? Do they feel true hunger and thirst for the food of everlasting life, which Jesus will give them in the signs and pledges of His body and blood in the Lord's Supper?"

The candidates then kneel down; and the Minister offers up prayers in their behalf: at the conclusion he says, "Now, dear children, rise up from your knees in the name of God, who is highly to be praised. Ye are not your own; ye are His. Praise, ye heavens, the

Name of the Lord! Praise, ye angels, ye guides of children, the Name of the Lord! Praise, ye parents, the Name of the Lord! Praise, ye children, the Name of the Lord!" "Ye are now invited to the Table of His Grace, where the memorial of His Body will be the food of your faith, and the memorial of His Blood will be the refreshing of your holiness in Love; and where ye will have meat and drink for life eternal, and be made one with Him in His Body, and be prepared to be partakers in His glory."

There is much in this Office that is expressed with great tenderness and beauty; and which many might be glad to see in an English translation.

This Office is followed by "Preparation for Holy Communion" and by the Office for the Holy Communion; one portion of which is called "Handlung vor dem *Altäre*" (the Evangelical Church of Bâle does not scruple at the word *Altar*); the form of Administration of the elements is, "Your *faith* in the death of the Body, strengthen and preserve you unto everlasting life;

"Your faith in the outpouring of the Blood,

strengthen and preserve you unto everlasting life."

Next follows an Office for *Communion of the Sick*—for *Matrimony*—for *Burial of the Dead*—for the *Burial of a Child.*

These *offices* are succeeded by certain forms of notices or warnings of ensuing celebrations, and by an Exhortation to *Almsgiving;* and by a form of *Thanksgiving for Harvest.*

I have dwelt more at length on this volume, because it maintains the principle of Liturgical Uniformity, and bears a striking testimony to the need of set forms of prayer and offices of devotion, and because it might encourage those of our Scotch Presbyterian brethren, who are happily manifesting a desire to possess a Liturgy of their own, and would vindicate them from invidious imputations, to which they might be exposed, unless they could appeal to such precedents as these.

What is the cause of the vast religious difference between the two Cities in which we have been within these last forty-eight hours —Cologne and Bâle?—the one is devoted to Rome, the other almost canonizes Calvin. Is

it the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and the frequent intercourse of its learned men with those of Zurich and Geneva in the sixteenth century, which have influenced the character of the cities? And did the abuses of the Papacy, which were brought to light at the Council of Bâle in the fifteenth century, make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of the people here? Do they still live in the memory?

At the south-east end of the Church, and attached to it, is an ancient upper-chamber where the Sessions of that celebrated Council, which attempted so much for the reformation of the Church, were held in A.D. 1431—1437.

The Acts of some of its Sessions (in 1433—1436) which concerned the *elections* of *Bishops*, are very interesting in the present age, when the question of the relation of the Bishops to the Pope is becoming a matter of great practical importance, especially in Italy. It was resolved in that Council, that the ancient *elective* rights of the *People* and *Clergy*, which had been usurped by the Popes, should be restored; and that the Bishops should be freely chosen by the People

and Clergy with the consent of the Crown; and, should, when so chosen, be confirmed by the *Metropolitan of the Province*, in which the diocese of the Bishop elect was situate, according to *ancient usage*.

These decrees of the Council of Bâle were adopted by Charles VII. of France, in an assembly of Prelates and Nobles, in 1438, at Bourges. In that measure the king followed the steps of his father Charles VI., who had published an edict to the same effect in 1418, and of St. Louis in 1268[6], and those decrees

[6] See Concilia Labb. et Cossart, Tom. xi. p. 907. Some of its articles are very deserving of attention at the present time:—

"For the maintenance of the peace of the State and the Church of our realm, and for the promotion of divine worship, and salvation of souls, and in order to obtain the favour and succour of Almighty God, we decree as follows:—

"ART. 1.—That all Bishops and patrons of benefices in our realm, preserve the full exercise of their rights, and that every one enjoy the jurisdiction which appertains to him.

"ART. 2.—That the Cathedral and other Churches of our realm enjoy the free exercise of election.

* * * * * *

"ART. 4.—That all promotions, collations, and provisions

of the Council of Bâle were incorporated into what was called the *Pragmatic Sanction*[7], which for some time was regarded as the charter of Ecclesiastical Law in France.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* contains the following words:—"The *holy Fathers* of *the first ages* (of the Church) framed wholesome decrees and ordinances for the happy government of the ecclesiastical body, both for the *election* and *institution* of the Ministers of the Church, and for their direction, and for that of other Prelates. As long as those laws were followed, the Church of God was the fruitful source of honour and virtue; ecclesiastical discipline preserved its vigour; religion, piety, and charity flourished, and men enjoyed peace of mind and worshipped the Author of this godly quietness. But criminal ambition, insatiable cupidity, violating the rights of

of Prelacies, Dignities, and Offices Ecclesiastical be made according to the order of Common Law, and the *rules of Councils*, and the *statutes of the ancient holy Fathers*." Cp. Monseign. De Pradt (ancien Archevêque de Malines), "Les quatre Concordats," Paris, 1818. Tom. i. p. 200.

[7] Which may be seen in the work of Monseigneur De Pradt, "Les quatre Concordats," i. pp. 204—212.

humanity, began to abandon the *wholesome decrees of the ancient Fathers*," &c.

But in A.D. 1516—1518 a great revolution was effected; one of the greatest that has ever taken place in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; and its effects are felt in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, even to this day. Pope Leo X. persuaded the French king, Francis I., to set aside the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and they framed a *Concordat*, in which the two contracting parties—the Pope and the King—sacrificed the rights of the People, Clergy, and Metropolitans, in order to aggrandize themselves. The Christian Church was a market, in which the Pope and the King met together in order to barter away what did *not belong to them*, and what they were bound to protect.

That *Concordat* has furnished the model for similar contracts between Popes and Sovereigns even to this day.

Perhaps the present age may behold a revival of the spirit which animated the Council of Bâle in the fifteenth century. Is there not some prospect of such a revival in Italy? Has not the age of Concordats passed

away? And will not the proper substitute for them be found in a return to the usages of primitive Christian antiquity?

The apartment in which the Council of Bâle was held is now a Museum. Here is a chest which belonged to Erasmus; and some of the frescoes of Holbein's "Dance of Death." On the south side of the Cathedral is an old ruined church, used as a burial-place—very picturesque and interesting.

CHAPTER II.

FROM BÂLE TO MILAN.

Friday, May 16th.—Left Bâle at two P.M. for Lucerne; a beautiful journey, especially as we approached Lucerne, and its lake. The train travelled leisurely, and afforded time to look at the succession of picturesque views of vale and mountain, Swiss-cottages, fields, gardens,—here and there a flock of goats,—and the Alps in the distance, capped with snow; arrived at Lucerne at seven P.M.

Saturday, May 17th.—*Lucerne*, Hôtel du Cygne, with a beautiful view over the lake. Bells ringing at half-past four in the morning for mass. Walked out early to the cathedral: fine situation on a hill above the town: the two spires have a striking effect; entered the church by a flight of high steps: mass, and a funeral going on: a great deal of public sympathy shown on these occasions; more than 1000 persons present. The relatives of the

deceased stand ranged on the two sides of the door of a small mortuary chapel (*chapelle ardente*)—outside the church—hung with black, the men on one side, the women on the other; hundreds of people came up, one after the other, entered the chapel, and touched the hands of the relatives, in token of condolence, and then passed on.

Near the cathedral is a cloister and a cemetery filled with monuments; and still further up the hill is a large enclosed burial-ground, for the Roman Catholic population; and another smaller one, with a very plain wooden temple-like chapel for the Protestants, with the words "Gott ist Liebe" inscribed over the door. Near it, is a beautiful view of the city and the lake.

The cloister near the cathedral is like a *Campo Santo*, and contains some memorial pictures of the departed, well executed, and in good preservation: also some good specimens of monumental sculpture. The sepulchral inscriptions in this Roman Catholic cemetery are interesting. They do not give any intimation of a belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, but assume that the soul of the deceased

is in a state of bliss. There are a few texts of Scripture; and many of the inscriptions are in German rhyme, some in Latin. I copied the following beautiful lines. Are they from an ancient hymn? They are like some verses of Prudentius [1].

"Deponit opus operator
In almis terræ gremiis;
Fovendum semen seminator
Telluris dat sacrariis,
Spe fisus germen oriturum [2]
Sub cælitum auspiciis.
Nos semen damus carius
Lugentes terræ fotibus,
Sperantes fore ut ex morte
Cum meliore surgat sorte."

"The workman commits his work
To the genial bosom of the earth,
The sower commits his seed to be fostered
In the sanctuary of the soil,

[1] Cathemerinon x. 120.

"Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est,
Sic semina sicca virescunt," &c.

Since the publication of the first edition of this journal some kind correspondents have reminded me that these lines coincide exactly in sense with the verses of Schiller in the "Song of the Bell," beginning

"Dem dunkeln Schoos der heil'gen Erde."

[2] After this word is inserted "profuturum."

Trusting in hope that the germ will arise
Under the auspices of heavenly powers;
We commit a dearer seed
With tears to the nurture of the earth,
In hope that out of death
It may arise with a better lot."

The *Campo Santo* has a very interesting compartment occupied entirely with graves of little children. They are arranged like garden-plots or parterres, with a small cross of black wood, and inscription at the head, and wreaths hanging on it. How many hopes lie buried there! But of how much joy also is it the seed-plot!

The larger Roman Catholic cemetery, which is higher up the hill, is filled with graves, almost all of which have a cross; the sepulchral monuments are engraved with various Christian symbols, such as the palm, the fish, the chrysalis, and butterfly; a cross resting on an anchor, a ripe ear of corn.

The *Protestant* burial-ground presents an unfavourable contrast to this, in the coldness and baldness of its features: no crosses, nothing that appeals to the imagination, or ministers hope and comfort by the suggestion of natural analogies. But on the other

hand it had an advantage over the Roman Catholic cemetery in the words of Holy Scripture on almost every grave.

Walking along a lane, on the banks of which are wild strawberries and wild geraniums in blossom, we had a lovely view of the lake. Descended into the town: visited the new English church, which is shared between the English, and the Swiss Protestants. The font is placed just in front of the altar. Surely the result of all this parsimonious *syncretism*, which is so prevalent on the Continent, must be that the Church of England will be identified, in the mind of the people, with the various Protestant denominations which are now infected by Rationalism and Socinianism. Would it not be better to worship in a barn, than to give occasion to such a scandal as this? Even in political matters it is discreditable to sacrifice a principle for money. "Vendidit hic auro patriam," said the poet[3] of a class of persons whom he excludes from Elysium. And are the principles, privileges, and glories of the heavenly country to be bartered away for money?

[3] Virg. Æn. vi. 621.

Left Lucerne by steamer at two P.M.: a delightful day, the scenery of the Lake and the mountain above and around it indescribably beautiful. One of our fellow-passengers was an intelligent Roman Catholic Priest about forty years of age, in ecclesiastical dress, with breviary and umbrella. He was a member of a religious order in Switzerland, and held an important post in one of its schools of education. When I mentioned the pleasure I had felt in seeing the sympathy shown to the mourners at the cathedral this morning, he said that it was due to the "esprit du Catholicisme," which had taken deep root at Lucerne, and even exercised a salutary influence on the Protestants of the place. When I observed that I had been also struck and surprised at the absence of all reference to the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory from the sepulchral monuments in the cloisters and cemetery, he said that people were naturally inclined to indulge in, and to express, hopes for their departed friends, but the Catholic Church laid great stress on that doctrine.

Was not the sympathy which we witnessed an emotion of the human heart, sanctified no

doubt by grace; and as to the expressions on the gravestones, may not the human heart be a better teacher than the Roman Catholic Church?

"No," said he, "the doctrine of Purgatory is a logical result of the revelation, which the Church has received of the divine holiness; and it is a necessary deduction from the *fact*, which is obvious to all, that many persons depart this life in a state—not of gross sin—but of indifference; a sort of neutral state, neither very bad nor good; and who require, therefore, to be qualified and prepared, by the purifying influence of suffering, for admission into the Divine presence. I remember," he added, "that when I was a boy, this difficulty struck me. How can the greater part of men, who die in that neutral state, ever be received into the society of angels and of God? and yet, can they all be excluded from it? Heaven forbid! I therefore was rejoiced to accept the solution provided by the Catholic Church in the doctrine of Purgatory."

"But are you sure that this is the true solution? doubtless it might occur to the unregenerate reason, and it seems to have

suggested itself to the heathen mind[4]. But is it safe to build *doctrines* on the foundation of reason, apart from Revelation? And where is the doctrine of Purgatory *revealed* in Scripture?"

"In the second book of Maccabees[5]."

"But *that* book is not Canonical. Nor does it follow that, even if it were good to pray for the dead, we ought therefore to accept the doctrine of Purgatory; the prayer there mentioned was for *holy* persons, that they might have a joyful *resurrection*[6]."

"But the Fathers who lived in the next age to the Apostles taught this doctrine of Purgatory."

"Pardon me: they may have w n some passages which speak of a pu atorial fire

[4] e. g. as in the lines of Virgil, Æn. vi. 737,—

"———— penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris;
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt; aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
Quisque suos patimur Manes; *exinde per amplum*
Mittimur Elysium."

[5] 2 Macc. xii. 44.

[6] 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45.

at the last day, supposed to be described by St. Paul[7], but none of them ever taught the *Roman* doctrine of Purgatory as a state of departed souls."

"But the Catholic Church now teaches it."

"No: the *Roman* Church does; but not the *Catholic* Church. The Catholic Church is the Church of *all time*, as well as of all place, and if the doctrine of Purgatory was not taught by the Church in the *time* of the *Apostles* and of the primitive Fathers (as, assuredly, it was not), it cannot be said to be taught by *the Catholic* Church. And, since the Church of *Rome* imposes upon all persons this doctrine, and many others, which were never taught by the ancient Church, therefore it is evident that she is not *the Catholic* Church; nor even *a Catholic* Church, so far as those doctrines are concerned; but that in *these respects* she is a schismatical and heretical opponent of the Catholic Church. And this she has done in a remarkable manner by her new dogma of the Immaculate Conception."

"But," said he, "our Lord promised to St. Peter His perpetual presence and support,

[7] 1 Cor. iii. 13—15.

and founded His Church upon him; and therefore we may be sure that when the successor of St. Peter takes counsel with the Bishops of the Catholic world, as he did in the promulgation of that doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, Christ Himself speaks by the mouth of His Vicar, the Bishop of Rome."

"How then was it, that, when the question of this same doctrine was brought before the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century [8], which she calls a general Council, and asserts to have been guided by the Holy Spirit, the Bishop of Rome did not then determine the controversy which divided the Franciscans and Dominicans on this very subject? If this

[8] At the fifth session of the Council of Trent in A.D. 1546: in the Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1483, it is candidly owned that the doctrine had not yet been decided by the Pope ("*nondum* a Romanâ Ecclesiâ et Apostolicâ sede *decisam*"). And even in our own days the present Pope, Pius IX., said in his letter dated from Gaeta, Feb. 2, 1849, that "a vehement *desire* had arisen in the Catholic world, that it *should at length be decided* by a solemn decree of the Apostolic See, that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin;" and he made this dogma to become "an Article of Faith" on the 8th of December, 1854.

doctrine is true *now*, surely it was true *then;* if it is necessary to salvation *now*, it was necessary *then;* and if our blessed Lord has appointed the Bishop of Rome to be His Vicar on earth, would He not have declared the truth of the doctrine then, and have put an end to their angry debates?"

"But," said he, "the time *had not then arrived* for the declaration of the doctrine. Do you not know what Vincentius Lirinensis says, that the Church teaches 'non nova, sed *novè?*'"

"But this dogma is *novum:* it was never made an Article of Faith before, as it is now by the Church of Rome."

"It is only a *development* of what was old."

"Pardon me, it is a *new* heresy, *opposed* to the old faith. The *old faith* is, that Christ *alone* was conceived and born without sin; and this new dogma is a *contradiction* of the old faith: and this your theory of development, as you are aware, though patronized in modern times by some of your learned divines, especially in England (who perceive that Rome teaches much that *is new*, and that they must devise some theory to account for it), was strongly

censured by one of your greatest theologians, Bossuet, writing against the Calvinist Jurieu, who had broached that same theory of Development."

"But Bossuet is not an authority with us now."

"No: though unity of teaching is professed by the Church of Rome, yet her doctrines and opinions change from time to time. Bossuet was honoured once, and the theory of Development was proscribed: but now the theory of Development is adopted, and Bossuet is in disgrace."

"Well, but what principle of belief have *you* Protestants? Where is your *norma fidei?* The Bible, and the Bible only, I suppose, interpreted by every man, woman, and child as they like best."

"Yes,—the Bible is our rule of Faith; but *not* the Bible interpreted by every man according to his own caprice: the Church of England declares in her sixth Article that the Holy Scriptures are her *Rule* of Faith, but she also says in her twentieth Article that '*the Church*, i. e. the *Universal* Church, *not* the Roman, has authority in controversies of faith;' and,

in fact, she sets before her people in her Liturgy the three Creeds as her doctrinal standard, and as an *authoritative interpretation* of the Bible, in matters of Faith."

"But this is not the opinion of most Protestants with whom I have conversed."

"But, my dear sir, it is the doctrine of the *Church* of England, which does not content herself with what is *negative*, but she has her *positive* side also. She is Protestant in contending against the errors of Rome, but she is Catholic in maintaining the truths of Christianity. And she *is Protestant because* she desires to be *Catholic*."

He seemed surprised at this, but rejoined by a reference to the Gorham case, where, he said, it was declared by the Church of England that a minister of the Church might deny the necessity of Baptism.

"No: the Judges in that case did not claim any *authority to determine* articles of faith; but they claimed authority to decide whether or no such or such a tenet was reconcileable with the *received doctrines* of the Church of England; and they said that in their opinion the disbelief of the doctrine of Regeneration in

Baptism did not disqualify a person for having the cure of souls: but they did not and could not touch the Book of Common Prayer: which every one, who has cure of souls, is obliged to use, and which plainly teaches the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism. And how many errors does the Church of Rome not only tolerate, but *enforce!*"

The steamer arrived at a small town on the banks of the Lake: we exchanged a friendly farewell, and he went on shore.

We passed William Tell's Chapel, and reached Fluellen, at the head of the Lake, in the evening; glorious scenery,—mountains going down precipitously into the waters: the hill-sides variegated with beautiful green patches of meadow grass, sprinkled with pastoral huts: fine timber trees, especially firs of every variety of colour, and the meadows running up to peaked limestone-rocks—snow lying in their recesses—and streams dashing down from them in cascades.

In the evening heard the church-bell ringing; went at half-past seven P.M. to the small church at Fluellen, a simple and rather pretty building, with steeple and tall slim wooden

spire. Church quite full of peasants: this on a week-day. The church adorned in rather a tawdry style; a good deal of tinsel and artificial flowers, especially on the altar, where stood an image of the Blessed Virgin in a fine white muslin dress.

The priest, accompanied by two little boys, went up to the altar; unlocked the ciborium, took out the host in the ostensoir, presented it to the adoration of the people, and then went to a side-altar; lighted up the candles, and knelt before it with his back to the people; on each side was one of the little acolytes kneeling by him; and began the prayers; a Litany in German: the women were kneeling on the north side of the church; the men on the south: all in open benches, no chairs: the responses hearty and full. Why should not the peasantry of our English villages be led to show the same earnestness in devotion—even on week-day evenings? I followed the priest to his lodging, and he kindly invited me to enter: asked him some questions about the service. He said it was the "Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," the same as in the Roman Office, but not in Latin, but German; and this, he said,

is used every evening in this month (May), being "the month of Mary."

The priest seems to be much respected and loved by the people. I heard him spoken of in high terms; and observed that, as he went home from the church, in his alb and black cap, the little children ran up to him to touch his hands, and the people all took off their hats.

The efforts of the Swiss and German *Reformers* are perhaps seen in some respects to more advantage in their effects on the *Roman Catholic* congregations, than in the *Protestant.* They extorted from the Papacy the use of some prayers in the mother tongue, and thus they gave an impulse, such as we have seen to-day, to the devotion of the people. Would to heaven that the Reformation could have proceeded *in* the Church, as it did in England, instead of *outside* it and *against* it! Here is a practical lesson for Church Reformation in Italy. If the Church of Italy is to be reformed, it must be reformed from *within:* it must *reform itself.*

Sunday, May 18*th.*—Awakened by bell for Mass at half-past four in the morning; another Mass at half-past five; another at half-past nine (high mass); the church crowded; the

music rather operatic: after the mass, a procession, with the host carried round the church; images borne before, and banners. No one scarcely beside the priest *receives* at *high* mass; but many receive at the low masses, early in the morning.

Walked to Altorf; entered a farm-house: over the door was a little picture pasted up with an inscription in German, "O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us, who resort to thee for help." Fine church: good peal of bells: vespers: large congregation of women: few men: none of upper class. The priest, after reading a few words, and giving a short exposition from near the steps of the altar, went up into the pulpit, and delivered a sermon in German, on the life and character of the Prophet Daniel, rather diffuse; it comprised a summary of the history

1. Of Susannah; and Daniel's judgment upon her case.

2. The three children cast into the furnace at Babylon.

3. Of Nebuchadnezzar's dream; of the four successive great Empires of the world; and of the kingdom of Christ;—with practical applications on each head.

The manner of the preacher was animated; his descriptions graphic, e. g. of the Babylonian monarch's feathers and claws, which he represented with much liveliness of gesture; but, notwithstanding his efforts, many of the congregation were asleep. It was a very hot day.

An Italian family at the hôtel at Fluellen just come from Rome: one of the ladies said that some hundreds of bishops had already arrived at Rome for the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, which is to take place there on Whitsunday next (June 8th), and that vast preparations were being made in the Church of St. Peter's for the ceremony. "Ma," said she, "guastano S. Pietro," "they are spoiling St. Peter's by the huge apparatus of woodwork, &c., and there will be so many candles blazing in the church that who knows but they may set it on fire?".

There seems to be a good deal done for instruction in these Swiss villages; the schools are free, endowed by the Commune; almost all children between seven and fifteen go to school; the boys are superintended by a priest, the girls by some religieuses.

Monday, May 19th.—Left Fluellen at five

in the morning: by Post across the *Mount St. Gothard* pass, over the Alps to Italy. The road runs by the side of the river *Reuss*, which flows down into the Lake of Lucerne, and tumbles down over rocks, and is crossed ever and anon by picturesque stone bridges. Woman with goître, one of the first signs of the Alps. "Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus[9]?" Passed through Waas; halted at Amsteg: romantic châlets: the pine planks of which they are built take a fine rich mellow reddish colour: open galleries, with stone staircase, and overhanging roof of rough stone slabs. The morning was rainy, but it cleared up as we ascended the pass. Below the road in the valley were rich green pastures, which contrast in a striking manner with the savage character of the scene. It resembles the pass of Tempe, with its steep overhanging crags. Goats were climbing about the rocks, and browsing on the low shrubs; also pretty, small dun cows, like Alderneys; and very ungainly-looking, thin, brown, almost yellow, pigs. By the side of the road were a great many wild flowers now in bloom, coronella, eyebright, wild strawberry, heartsease,

[9] Juvenal xiii. 162.

forget-me-nots, deep blue gentianella, lilac-coloured auriculas, ferns, and beautiful Alpine roses with pink flowers. These continued to grow almost to the summit, when we entered the region of ice and snow. We seemed to pass through all the seasons in this day's journey.

Crossed the "Devil's Bridge." Here the sublime grandeur of the scenery, the deep, dark ravine, the rushing river dashing in cataracts, the solitary and awful majesty of the mountains and rocks are beyond all powers of description. In their presence, Man and Man's works seemed to dwindle into nothing; and yet in this sublime wilderness Man's hand makes itself felt; there is the bold adventurous road like a living thing running with daring enterprise along the brink of the precipice[1], and leaping with an airy

[1] A frightful accident occurred a short time after we crossed this pass. About two miles below the "Ponte del Diavolo," at a bridge called Sprenki, the horses of the Diligence took fright, and the Diligence was hurled down nearly three hundred feet into the abyss below the road, and was shattered to pieces; one of the travellers in the Diligence (there were three beside the conducteur), an Italian gentleman (Cavaliere Magenta, Prefect of Bologna), was killed.

bound by the hanging bridge over the dark gulph below it; and there is also the long and almost interminable line of the Electric Telegraph flying from one lofty pole to another, and running on for many a mile in its unwearied course, and wafting in a few minutes over this lonely mountain-pass the news of Italian conflicts or counsels to the valleys of Switzerland and to the Capitals of France and England.

Halted again at Hôpital: thence the ascent was still more steep, and the scenery even more stern, the temperature more and more cold. At last we reached the top of the pass,—a wide flat covered with snow, and large ponds of blue ice (this on the 19th May); and the snow, mixed with a drizzle of rain, fell on us as we crossed it.

Thence the road descended at a rapid rate: and we travelled down its windings at a quick trot; our driver spun us round the corners of the zigzag road with wonderful ability, seeming much to delight in his own skill, and with an enthusiasm something like that of the ancient charioteers in the Circus, who have furnished

materials for so many fine passages to the ancient Poets [2].

Passed through Airolo to Faido, where we slept.

Tuesday, May 20th; Faido.—Started at four o'clock in the morning for Bellinzona. The moon shed its silver light upon us while the rest of the landscape was in dark shade. Mulberry-trees (gelsi) by the road-side, and many other signs that we were now coming to "il bel paese, ove il *si* suona." Fine Spanish chestnuts, walnuts, pears, in the meadows and orchards, and yellow broom in flower. The soft fiery glow of the summer light of the rising sun gilded the snow on the mountain-tops in the horizon.

Next we come to the region of vineyards; vines trellised upon *pergole*, forming a beautiful shady arbour, and realizing the Scriptural description of the happiness of Solomon's age, when every man "dwelt under his own vine [3]"—an expression not very intelligible to those who

[2] e. g. Virgil's Georg. iii. 103,—

"Nonne vides, cum præcipiti certamine campum
Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currûs?" &c. &c.

[3] 1 Kings iv. 25.

only see vines trained against a wall, or in a hot-house. Here also we came to the land of Churches with tall bell-towers (campaniles), with pierced windows; and here and there were open Chapels at the road-side with paintings in fresco. One of these Chapels had a picture of the crucifixion, and of St. Augustine and his mother Monica,—suggestive of recóllections of his sojourn at Milan. Passed a Cemetery walled in, with an inscription over the gate, "Beati qui in Domino moriuntur[4]." None of the Churches had churchyards. This is a great loss. Ugo Foscolo somewhere describes his pleasurable emotions at seeing an English churchyard: and certainly this union of the dead with the living in connexion with the Church serves to keep alive the feeling of the communion of saints,—

> "One family we dwell in Him;
> One Church above, beneath,
> Though now divided by the stream,
> The narrow stream, of Death[5]."

In the fields by the road-side men were gathering mulberry-leaves from off the trees,

[4] Rev. xiv. 13. [5] Charles Wesley.

and packing them in sacks for the silk-worms (bachi di seta); the trees when stripped looked dead and bare and dry, like skeletons. For some years past the silk-worms of Lombardy have been suffering from a disease, of which no one seems able to discover the cause or the remedy. This has affected not only the market of silk, but has also much injured the proprietors of mulberry-trees, the demand for mulberry-leaves being much diminished, and their price reduced.

Halted at Bellinzona, the capital of the Canton of Tessino, an interesting old town, partly Swiss and partly Italian, with a middle-age Castle. Thence through the plain by the side of the Ticino (memorable for the campaigns of Hannibal) to Magadino on the Lago Maggiore: at Magadino found a steamer, ready to convey us down the lake to Arona.

The course of these steam-boats is very convenient for those who have leisure, and who wish to see the adjacent country; they cross, and recross, from one side of the lake to the other, in order to take in passengers from the different towns on the banks.

We crossed from Magadino to Locarno. A grave-looking priest in the steamer told me that the deputies of the Canton of Tessino were then holding their sittings at Locarno, where he landed. These Swiss legislators are rather afraid that the Italians will be desirous of absorbing their canton into the kingdom of Italy. He thought that the hopes of Italian *unification*, as it is called, with a capital at Rome, were illusory. The States of Italy, he said, had never been united, and never would be. And as for the surrender of the Pope's temporal power—all good Catholics, he conceived, would be opposed to such a measure as "contro i sentimenti cattolici."

He asked me by what route I had come into Italy. I was rather amused with the terms in which he spoke of the scenery of the Alpine passes. It was "orrida e selvaggia!"—but this, it will be remembered, was the language of the Ancients concerning mountain scenery. Tempe was not "a pleasant vale" in their eyes; and the Alps were almost always described as stern, savage, and inhospitable, not only by ancient Poets, but by modern Tourists even to the

time of Burnet and Addison. The poet Gray was the first to discover the attractions of the Lake scenery of Westmoreland.

A peasant came into the steamer at Cânobbio, and talked freely in a very different strain about the state of Italy. As to the "radunanza" of Bishops at Rome, the plea that it was for the Canonization of Martyrs was a mere pretext "pei ciechi," but "all persons," he said, "who had their eyes open, could see that it was a 'congiura contro le libertà Italiane.'" He had read Lord Palmerston's speech on Italian affairs, and all the lovers of freedom in Italy were thankful to England for the support she had given to their designs. He spoke of the recent attempt made by a party of Garibaldian volunteers to excite the population of the Tyrol and of Bergamo, Brescia, and Venetia, to rise against the Austrians, which might have suddenly involved the whole of this country in war.

On the 15th May,—last Thursday,—the Garibaldian commander, Colonel Nullo, was arrested at Palazzuolo, by order of the Turin Government (the King and principal ministers were absent at Naples), and with some other officers were conducted to the prison of Brescia;

on which the mob arose, and broke into the prison, crying, *Viva Garibaldi!* and the military fired upon them, and some were wounded, and two killed. Garibaldi has written a letter, dated Trescorre, 16th May, in which he identifies himself with the movement, and says that Colonel Nullo acted under his orders; and in another letter, written on Sunday last, he protests against the cruelty of the Government and the army which perpetrated the "strage di Brescia."

It was a beautiful afternoon, and we had a good view of the Lake and surrounding scenery; —passed by Isola Bella, and came in sight of the colossal statue of S. Carlo Borromeo at Arona.

We landed at Arona, and took the train to Novara, memorable for the battle fought on the 23rd March, 1849, between the Piedmontese and Austrian armies. The Austrians numbered 80,000 men, and 200 pieces of artillery: the Sardinian force did not amount to more than one-half that of their opponents. After a courageous struggle, the King of Sardinia, Carlo Alberto, was defeated by the veteran Austrian general Radetzki, and

lost 4000 men, and 6000 more were wounded. At fall of night the King summoned his generals, and in their presence, and in that of his two sons, the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Genoa, announced to them his resolution to abdicate his throne, in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, then Duke of Savoy; and immediately, accompanied by a single servant, he quitted Italy for ever, and retired to Portugal, where he died on the 13th July, 1849.

The Stoics of old, such as Cato of Utica and Brutus on the plains of Philippi, took refuge in death, when they were worsted in the field. The Kings of Sardinia have often put an end to their troubles by abdication. Amedeus VIII. abdicated the throne in 1434, Victor Amedeus in 1730, Charles Emmanuel IV. in 1802, Victor Emmanuel in 1821, Carlo Alberto in 1849. The House of Savoy has been distinguished by physical courage, allied to a gloomy piety, bordering on fatalism and fanaticism. When fortune is adverse, there is something attractive to certain temperaments, in the change from a crown to a cowl, and from a throne to a cloister. The struggles of life require more

moral courage than the conflicts of the field.

From Novara we passed over the plain of Magenta, close to the field of battle: a soldier in the train pointed out a place where, he said, 2000 bodies were buried: a white column marks the spot where General Espinasse fell. It is impressively solemn and awful to be suddenly brought from the bustle and stir of railway excitement, to such a spot as this—

"With such vast hoards of hidden carnage near,
And horror breathing from the silent ground."

The Austrians left 6000 men killed or wounded on the field. The Italians and French had about 4000 killed or wounded; and they lost fifty-two officers.

After the battle, the Austrians evacuated Milan; Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. entered the city in triumph; and the former was proclaimed "King of Italy."

The battle was fought on the 4th June, 1859.

We arrived at Milan on the evening of Tuesday, May 20th.

CHAPTER III.

MILAN.

Milan, Wednesday morning, May 21st.—Went to the Duomo, or Cathedral. Externally it looks too much like a work of Sculpture rather than Architecture, and the eye is fatigued with its pinnacles and statues—the latter are said to be 3000 in number. It wants chiaroscuro; and some of its details, especially in the façade, and the Roman erection on the roof of the nave, greatly impair the effect. But who can describe its interior? After the light and somewhat tawdry decorations of many other continental churches, this magnificent Cathedral, especially when entered from the subterranean passage which leads from the Archbishop's palace, produces a powerful impression on the mind, by its vast size, its lofty proportions, its solemn gloom and sublime grandeur, and the rich hues of its

stained glass windows. It seems as if the ancient spirit of religion, such as dwelt at Milan in the days of S. Ambrose, loved to linger here. The inscription which is conspicuous on the Rood-loft, "Attendite ad PETRAM unde excisi estis[1]," pointing to Christ (and not Peter) as the true *Rock* of the Church, is very significant. There are side-altars, but not prominent as in many churches. At the east end of the church are large and lofty windows of stained glass (some of them recent, by Bertini), representing a series of subjects from the Old and New Testament: singular enough, one of the windows is filled with a vast number of pictures from the Book of Revelation, delineating the divine judgments on the mystical Babylon, "the city on the seven hills[2]." The windows, which have been replaced by these modern works of art, were shattered by the cannonading which announced the coronation of Napoleon I. as King of Italy on the 26th May, 1805.

There is no screen to the choir. The noble, spacious *ambons*, or pulpits, at the

[1] Isa. li. 1. [2] Rev. xvii. 9.

intersection of the nave and transepts, from one of which the Gospel and Epistle are read in the eyes and ears of the congregation, (would that they were read in their mother tongue!) are gratifying evidences of the ancient zeal of the Milanese Church for the Holy Scriptures, and for the instruction of the people in them. Then there is the peculiar Ambrosian ritual, which the Church of Rome has in vain attempted to extinguish (as she has extinguished all the local Breviaries of the *French* Dioceses, in order that she may substitute the Roman Breviary in their stead), and it remains a living proof of the ancient independence of the Milanese Church.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Church of *Milan* will not allow Priests of the *Roman ritual* to officiate at the high altars in her churches, nor to officiate on great festivals, and at some other ceremonies,—especially offices for the dead,—except under urgent necessity [3].

Besides these local privileges, we must not forget the Catechetical teaching instituted

[3] See the "Cerimoniale Ambrosiano," Pt. i. p. 71, ed. 1853.

by S. Carlo Borromeo—who was born in 1538 at Arona, and made Archbishop of Milan in 1560—which is still conducted with great spirit in this cathedral every Sunday, and is another proof of the religious vitality of the Church of S. Ambrose.

But what is the present condition of the Church of Milan?

A short time before the Austrians were driven from Milan, in 1859, the Archbishop of Milan, Monsignor Romilli, died, and the Emperor of Austria nominated Monsignor Ballerini as his successor. But this nomination did not take effect, and the Arcivescovado, or Archiepiscopal palace, is now occupied in part by Canons of the Cathedral; the grass is growing in the courtyard; and that noble building presents a desolate appearance. The See of Milan being vacant, the Chapter of the Cathedral chose one of their body, Monsignor Caccia, to act as Vicario of the Archbishop. In the "Calendarium Ambrosianum" for the present year,—which is put forth by his authority,—he is described by the title of "Eccl. Metropolit. Primicerius, et *sede vacante* Vicarius Generalis Capitularis."

He is also "Bishop of Famaugusta, domestic Prelate of the Pope, and an assistant at the Pontifical Throne."

But Monsignor Caccia has also quitted Milan, and resides at Monza; and now the See of S. Ambrose is without a Bishop; and the province of Milan, which contains many Suffragan Bishops, is without a Metropolitan. The people of Milan are without a chief pastor. Ordinations and Confirmations are suspended; the body is without a head.

This state of things suggests many interesting reflections.

In *primitive times*, *the Clergy and People of a Diocese elected their Bishop:* and when the Empire became Christian, the Emperors exercised great influence in the appointments of Bishops. The Bishops of each Province, when elected by the Clergy and People, and approved by the Crown, were *confirmed* by the Metropolitan of the Province, and were *consecrated* by him, and by two or three other of the Bishops of the Province. But in early times the Bishop of *Rome* had no voice in the matter, except with regard to the Bishops of the *suburbicarian* churches, i. e. those who had

Sees in the neighbourhood of the *urbs* or city of Rome[4].

In course of time the Emperors assumed to themselves almost the exclusive share in the nomination and investiture of Bishops, to the prejudice of the ancient elective rights of the Clergy and People.

In the seventh and three following centuries the Emperors of the East, and after them the Emperors of Germany, had considerable influence, not only in the election of other Bishops, but even in the appointment of the Popes of Rome. But Pope Gregory VII., Hildebrand, *on the plea* of restoring to the *Clergy* their ancient rights, contested the question of *investiture* with the Emperor Henry IV., and succeeded in wresting it from him, A.D. 1074.

The Pope deprived the *Emperor* of that power, by the aid of the *forged decretals* of the Roman Canon Law; and having succeeded in doing so, the Pope and his successors next directed their efforts against the *Clergy and People;* and, first, by influencing elections of

[4] Evidence will be given hereafter in proof of these statements.

Bishops by threats or promises, and by concentrating those rights in capitular bodies, (which, from the fewness of their members, were more easy of control,) they at last transferred virtually the nomination of all Bishops to *themselves*.

They impaired the power of the Archbishops,* or Metropolitans, of the several Provinces of Christendom by authorizing *appeals* from their jurisdiction to the Court of Rome; and by sending Papal Legates from Rome to supersede their authority; they enforced *celibacy* on the Clergy, and thus weaned their affections from the family and the State, and absorbed them into the Papacy; and they multiplied their own spiritual militia of the *religious orders*; and they imposed on all Bishops, at their consecration, a *new* form of *oath*[5], by which they withdrew them from allegiance to their Sovereigns, and bound them as Vassals to the Roman See. This oath may be seen in the "Pontificale

[5] Under Gregory VII. (A.D. 1074); enlarged by Paschalis II. (A.D. 1099—1118), and still further by Gregory IX. (A.D. 1227—1241), and Clement VIII. (A.D. 1592—1604).

Romanum," printed by authority at Rome, ed. 1818, p. 62. By it the Bishops bind themselves "to persecute and impugn all heretics and rebels against their Lord the Pope," and to maintain the "royalties of Peter"—i. e. the power claimed by the Pope—against all men. Thus the Popes extended and strengthened the foundations of that universal spiritual empire, which held the world beneath its sway.

The Council of Bâle, in 1433—1436, struggled against these Papal usurpations, as has been already observed, and endeavoured to restore the right of election to its ancient, lawful possessors; and the Pragmatic Sanction at Bourges, in 1438, gave a civil as well as ecclesiastical support and authority to its decrees[6]. But in 1516, as has been before

[6] The salutary effects of the Pragmatic Sanction are thus described by Monseigneur De Pradt, i. p. 203: "*La pragmatique* rétablit les élections (des évêques) avec l'institution par le Métropolitain et ses comprovinciaux; elle débarrassa la France des exacteurs de Rome; en maintenant l'*ancien ordre* des *institutions episcopales* elle pourvut à ce que *les églises ne restassent point sans pasteurs*, et les pasteurs sans églises, pendant ces longs espaces de temps où les *concordats* les ont fait manquer les uns des autres."

noticed, Pope Leo X. induced Francis I. of France to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to accept an arrangement[7], by which the King was to be allowed to absorb into himself the elective privileges of the People and Clergy, and the Pope was to swallow up all the rights of the Metropolitans, and to have the sole authority in the *institution* of Bishops; so that *no Bishop* should be thenceforth consecrated without the *permission of the Pope.* It was commonly said at the time that in forming this *concordat*, "the Pope and the King gave to one another what did not belong to them," namely, the rights of the People, Clergy, and Bishops, and even the sacred inheritance of Christ's Church.

Other sovereigns of Europe were beguiled by the Court of Rome, and imitated the example of Francis I.; and the influence of that Concordat is still felt in almost every part of the continent,—especially in Italy.

For ten years, from 1683 to 1693, the King of France, Louis XIV., had a severe struggle with the Popes, Innocent XI., Alexander VIII.,

[7] A similar compact had been made between Nicolas V. and the Emperor of Germany in 1448.

and Innocent XII. The consequence of this conflict was, that not *one Bishop was consecrated in France during that time*, and at the end of it, viz. in 1693, there were no less than *thirty-five Bishoprics* vacant in France. By the Concordat, the Pope had been allowed to have a *veto* on the nominations of the King; and the Pope refused to give "institution" to the King's nominees.

Strange result! Unhappy catastrophe! A Pope and a King quarrelled, and the Church was not to have Bishops! The People are to be left without pastors;

"Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

In the year 1693 Louis XIV. (wishing to make use of the Papacy for a political purpose against England) made a humble submission to the Pope[8]; and the Pope vouchsafed to give bulls of institutions to the French Bishops named by the Crown.

In the year 1801 Napoleon Buonaparte, then First Consul and President of the French Republic, endeavoured to restore the public

[8] The letter of submission which Louis XIV. wrote to Pope Innocent XII., fell into the hands of Napoleon, who put it into the fire.—De Pradt, i. p. 354.

profession of the Christian religion in France, and with this view he entered into negotiations with the Pope, Pius VII. He also, in imitation of Francis I., made a Concordat with the Papacy, first for France, and next also for "the Republic of Italy." He did *not* restore the rights of election of Bishops to the Clergy and People, but he claimed for himself the nomination of all Bishops in France. But in order that the Pope might support him in the exercise of this patronage, he conceded to the Pope a *veto on all his appointments.*

This, he afterwards said, was the greatest mistake of his reign—"La plus grande faute que j'aie faite, c'est le *Concordat.*" He used this expression in the presence of the Duc de Rovigo and Monseigneur De Pradt, at the Trianon, in the summer of 1811: he repeated the expression several times (De Pradt, ii. p. 497, 9). He had put himself in a false position. For he thus made the Papacy *necessary to himself.* He had not provided for an emergency, in which the Pope might be at variance with the Crown, and might effectually show his hostility by *refusing* to institute any Bishop whom the Crown might nominate. The Pope

excommunicated Napoleon, then Emperor[9], on the 10th of June, 1809. What now was to be done? Napoleon convoked the National Council of Paris in 1811. In the letter of summons to the Bishops, he expressed his regret that "the most *illustrious* and *populous churches of the empire were vacant*, because one of the contracting parties, i. e. the Pope, refused to give effect to the Concordat[1]," and "it was necessary," he said, "to take measures to fill up the *vacant sees;* and if such measures were not speedily adopted, Episcopacy might become extinct in France and Italy, as was almost the case in Germany, where there were only eight Bishops[2]."

The Council of Paris consisted of more than a hundred Bishops, from France, Italy, and Germany. It was held in the Archbishop's Palace, under the presidency of Cardinal

[9] He was crowned Emperor of France, December 2, 1804.

[1] The Pope professed a readiness to institute, but he would not insert the *Emperor's* name in the bulls of institution; he would not acknowledge his right to nominate, which was tantamount to *refusal* of institution.—See De Pradt, i. p. 323; ii. 144.

[2] This letter is printed by Cardinal Pacca, Memorie Storiche, p. 530, ed. Pesaro, 1830.

Fesch. The Bishops had not been prepared by previous information and conference; and the excommunication of the Emperor by the Pope seemed to them to render an accommodation impossible; and after some turbulent scenes the Council was dissolved. But it was summoned again; and it adopted unanimously the following decree (on Aug. 5, 1811):—"That no Episcopal See ought to remain vacant more than a year," and "that the Emperor of France should nominate to all vacant Sees, and request the Pope to institute his nominees; and that *if* after the expiration of *six months* the Pope refused to institute the Bishops nominated by the Crown, *then* the *Metropolitan of the Province* should give the requisite institution; and in case of *Archbishops*, under similar circumstances, the senior Bishop of the Province should give institution." This arrangement was nothing more than what the *Pope* had *previously agreed to* in a paper drawn up at Savona, dated 19th of May, 1811 [3].

[3] The paper may be seen in Cardinal Pacca's Memorie Storiche, p. 364, ed. Pesaro, 1830. See also De Pradt, ii. p. 470.

The Council of Paris resolved that these decrees should be submitted to the Pope for his approval. In the event of the Pope's refusal to approve this decree, Napoleon declared his determination to return to the "Common law of the Church, by which the right of *institution* would *devolve* on the *Metropolitan*, *without* the *intervention* of *the Pope;* as the usage had been before the Concordat of Francis I. and Leo X.[4]" Alarmed by this declaration, Pius VII., in a brief dated 20th of September, 1811 (called "*Ex quo ad summum*"), gave his *consent* to *this arrangement*[5]; and in the beginning of the year 1813 (Jan. 25th) a new *Concordat* was drawn up and signed by the Emperor and Pope at Fontainebleau, in which the above-named decree of the National Council of Paris was inserted[6]. This Concordat extended not

[4] De Pradt, ii. p. 516. Monseigneur De Pradt was himself a Member of the Commission appointed to negotiate with Pius VII.

[5] Which may be seen in De Pradt, ii. pp. 507—514.

[6] It is as follows:—"Les six mois expirés, sans que le Pape ait accordé l'institution, le Métropolitain, et à son défaut, ou s'il s'agit du Métropolitain, l'évêque le plus

only to the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics in France, but to those also in the *Kingdom of Italy*, with the exception of the *six suburbicarian* Sees, and ten others to be agreed upon.

Thus (says Monseigneur De Pradt, who was one of the members of the Council, ii. p. 481) Napoleon "solved the problem which Louis XIV., with Bossuet and the Parliaments of France, had been unable to solve; and the world beheld the remarkable spectacle of a military Conqueror who was resolved that the Church should never want Bishops, and that of a Pope who contended that the Church should be without Bishops," except at his own pleasure.

But the fortunes of Napoleon were then beginning to wane: and on the 24th of March, 1813, Pius VII. wrote a letter of recantation to the Emperor, in which he revoked his assent to the Concordat[7] of Fontainebleau;

ancien de la province, procédera à l'institution de l'évêque nommé; de manière qu'un siége ne soit jamais vacant plus qu'une année."—Art. iv. of the Concordat of Fontainebleau, signed by the Emperor Napoleon and Pius VII. on Jan. 25, 1813.

[7] The letter may be seen in Cardinal Pacca's Memorie Storiche, pp. 406—410.

and by the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Bourbons the Papacy was raised again to the same position which it had occupied in 1801[8].

It has retained that position till the recent campaign of Magenta and Solferino, which has been followed by the annexation of Lombardy, Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, and a large part of the Roman States (viz. the Legations of Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches), to the crown of Victor Emmanuel, now King of Italy.

Throughout the whole of the *Kingdom of Italy no means now exist for filling up any vacant Episcopal See.* Precisely the same difficulty has now arisen in Italy, as occurred in France under Louis XIV. in 1683, and under Napoleon I. in 1809. How will this difficulty be solved? Will Victor Emmanuel make a humble submission to the Pope, as Louis XIV. did? Or will he obtain from the

[8] Louis XVIII. in 1817 accepted a Concordat, by which he agreed to return to that of 1516 between Leo X. and Francis I.; but this Concordat of 1817 has never been received in France by the Parliaments and Courts. —See Dupin, Manuel du Droit Ecclésiastique, 1844, p. 241.

Pope a Concordat like that which Napoleon extorted from Pius VII. at Fontainebleau in 1813? Neither of these results seems very probable. And even if *the Crown* should resort to one or other of these alternatives, will the Metropolitans, Clergy, and, above all, the People of Italy, consent to an accommodation by which their own ancient rights would be sacrificed? Or will the Crown, the Clergy, and the People unite in an earnest endeavour to ascertain their own relative rights and duties in this grave matter, according to the ancient laws and practice of the best ages of the Church?

These are important questions suggested by the present state of the Archiepiscopal See of Milan; and I have dwelt upon them at greater length, because the best interests of Religion are involved in them; and because the stability of the Kingdom of Italy may depend in great measure on their right and proper adjustment. The words of Monseigneur De Pradt, in his history of Concordats, deserve to be well weighed:—"The Episcopate is the pivot of the Clerical body: the Concordats have made the Pope to be the master of the

Episcopate, and of the Clerical body, through the Episcopate. And since the Clerical body, —by reason of the combination of spiritual with temporal matters,—is the pivot of the tranquillity of the State, hence it follows, that the Pope, by his influence over the Episcopate, is the arbiter of the peace of the Realm [9]."

If the Throne of Italy is to stand, she must have a loyal Episcopate. But she cannot have a loyal Episcopate—no, she will have an Episcopate *opposed* to the Crown,—if the Pope is to have a *veto* on appointments to Italian Bishoprics; and if the Bishops of Italy are to take such *oaths* as he imposes upon them.

These questions call for a speedy solution. According to the ancient laws of the Church, as well as on principles of common equity and charity, no Episcopal See ought to be kept vacant above two or three months. At present, there is a violent struggle between the Papacy and the Crown, and it is daily becoming more fierce. On one side is the Papal Hierarchy, and on the other the

[9] Les quatre Concordats, i. p. 280.

Government and the People, and some of the Clergy. Religion suffers by this struggle: if it is prolonged, the People may lapse into irreligion, and if irreligion prevails, Revolution will soon follow. Many Bishoprics are now vacant in Italy. The Government is exposing itself to the charge of indifference to religion, by keeping those Sees void, and by sequestering their revenues. But if the vacant Episcopal Sees of Italy are filled up with loyal, learned, and religious men, then the Spirituality and Temporalty would co-operate in harmonious efforts for the religious and secular welfare of the people. The importance of this question is placed in a still clearer light, when the *statistics* of the Italian Episcopate are examined. The Dioceses of Italy are *very numerous:* and wherever there is a Bishop, the Pope has now a person who is bound to him by oaths of allegiance, and who exercises an almost unbounded power over the Clergy. In Piedmont there are thirty-three Bishoprics, in Venezia eleven, in Lombardy five, in Tuscany twenty-one, in the old Ecclesiastical States seventy, in the Duchy of Modena eight, in Sicily and Naples one hundred and nine. If

these Sees were filled by pious, learned, enlightened, and loyal men, not trammelled by unrighteous oaths, but appointed according to the laws and usages of the ancient Catholic Church, Italy would rise to a position such as it has never yet occupied in the history of Europe and the world.

Since the above remarks were written, a calculation has been made, from which it appears that there are (Nov. 1862) no *less than thirty-four Bishoprics vacant in the Kingdom of Italy*. They are as follows:—In Piedmont, 7; Liguria, 1; Sardinia, 6; Lombardy, 2; Parma, 1; Tuscany, 6; The Marches, 3; Umbria, 2; Naples, ancient Kingdom of, 3; Sicily, 3; *Total Vacant Sees*, 34.

They now (April, 1863) have reached the amount of 43; and the question of Investiture has become one of critical importance to the dignity of the Crown, by the nomination on the part of the King, of three Ecclesiastics to Canonries at Milan, and by the refusal of Investiture on the part of the *locum tenens* of the Archbishop, acting under instructions from Rome.—[*Note to Second Edition.*]

CHAPTER IV.

MILAN (*continued*).

Wednesday afternoon, May 21st.—At half-past two attended Vespers in the Cathedral. Canons about twenty in number came out of the Sacristy in procession,—attired in white, red, and green,—and went up to the raised stalls at the east end of the choir, where they seated themselves in a semicircle according to the usual ancient arrangement, the Bishop being supposed to occupy the seat in the middle of the apse. Few persons were present. A young priest with his "Diurnum Ambrosianum" in his hand, very reverent and attentive. There are several Canonries now vacant, which cannot be filled up, because the Vicario Capitolare,—the deputy of the Archbishop,—will not give institution to the nominees of the Crown.

I procured a copy of the Diurnum Ambro-

sianum, and on comparing it with the Roman Ritual I observed many deviations between the two. Let me specify some in the ritual for the present month, May. The Roman Church has canonized two of her Popes, Gregory VII., and Pius V., and their festivals occur in May. That of Pope Pius V. is on the 5th of this month; and in the services appointed for that day he is lauded as "having discharged the duty of an *Inquisitor with inflexible courage*," and having "*crushed the enemies of the Church*," doubtless with reference to his conduct to Queen Elizabeth, against whom he issued a Bull of excommunication and deposition (on Feb. 24, 1567), commanding her subjects to rise up in rebellion against her.

Similarly Pope Gregory VII. is eulogized in the Roman Breviary on May 25th because "he strenuously resisted the Emperor Henry IV., and *deprived him of his crown, and released his subjects from their allegiance* [1]."

These words stand in the *Roman* Breviary, and are recited by her in her Churches at this

[1] The words in the Roman Breviary are, "regno privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit."

day; it is clear from them that the Church of Rome has never renounced her claim to *dethrone kings;* and to *release their subjects from their allegiance;* on the contrary, she now worships as *saints* those Popes who asserted those claims, and who also put them in force.

On looking into the Calendar of the Milanese Church, I see no mention of either of these Popes. It is well known also, that many Roman Catholic Princes forbade these portions of the Roman Offices just specified, for these two festivals, to be printed in the Breviary used in their dominions. They were expunged from the Breviaries of Naples, Venice, Spain, and France. But it is very remarkable, that these very offices which were suppressed by Bourbon Princes, have now *reappeared* in the Breviaries of *France*, under Napoleon III., the Sovereign of the popular choice! Popes of Rome are now eulogized in all the Churches of France for having deposed kings! The Church of Rome has had a *temporal* end in view, in supplanting and displacing all the national Breviaries of France, and in substituting the Roman Breviary in their

place. In her plea for "liturgical uniformity" there was a covert design for spiritual and temporal aggrandizement. She forgets nothing. With her, the acts of Gregory VII. and of Pius V. are as fresh as if they were done yesterday, and is it too much to say, that by eulogizing those acts annually in the house of God, she shows her desire that these acts may be repeated, and avows her own determination to repeat them,—whenever she may have the power to do so?

In the Milanese Calendar, the 5th of May is the day appointed for the commemoration of the Conversion of S. Augustine by S. Ambrose: how different are the emotions which are suggested by that event, from those which spring from a remembrance of the acts of Pope Pius V.! On the 25th of May, Dionysius Archbishop of Milan occupies the place which is given in the Roman Breviary to Gregory VII.

In the pontificate of Gregory XIII. (A.D. 1578—1585) an attempt was made by the Church of Rome to supersede all other Latin Liturgies by the Roman: and the Pope sent a brief to the Governor of *Milan*, in which he authorized him to have the *Roman* Ritual used

daily in any Church of Milan that he might choose. But S. Carlo Borromeo wrote two letters of remonstrance to the Pope in order to vindicate and maintain the independence of the Ambrosian Ritual.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that two years ago (1860) the Church of Rome took advantage of the vacancy of the See of Milan, and induced Monsignor Caccia to publish a new edition of the Ambrosian Breviary, "*juxta mentem Apostolicæ sedis*," and under the authority of the holy "*Roman* Congregation of Rites."

Besides this, the Church of Rome endeavoured to persuade some congregations of *regulars*, particularly the Barnabites, who serve the parish of S. Alexander at *Milan*, to adopt the *Roman* Ritual; but the popular feeling revolted against the usurpation. The "Ladies of the Sacred Heart" at Milan have also shown a desire for the introduction of the *Roman* Ritual instead of the Ambrosian; and it is evident that if Rome gains the mastery in the present conflict, the Ambrosian Ritual will disappear.

Yesterday (May 20th) the Chapter of the

Cathedral of Milan agreed to observe the national anniversary (Festa dello Statuto) of June 1, by a religious celebration in the Cathedral, notwithstanding the opposition of the Archbishop's *locum tenens*, the Vicario Capitolare, Monsignor Caccia, and notwithstanding the decree issued from the Roman Penitenzieria on May 18, 1861, which forbade all Priests to celebrate that anniversary.

Thursday, May 22nd.—This morning, when we were at breakfast at the Caffé Cova, some lads with muskets passed along the streets. On inquiring who they were, we were informed that they were some of the volunteers who had gone from Milan to join the standard of Garibaldi's corps in their rising against the Austrians. That enterprise, undertaken without the sanction of the Italian Government, ended in a collision between the Garibaldian Volunteers and the King's troops, and in the arrest of the Colonel of the Volunteers. But though this act of Garibaldi is freely censured by many as anarchical, and although it might have led to the sacrifice of many lives of youthful enthusiasts, and although it might have brought the Austrians out of the fortresses of Peschiera and

Mantua, with a tremendous onslaught upon the city of Milan, unprepared to resist them, yet the present Government does not seem to be disposed to act with much energy in the matter. Garibaldi has written a letter in which he makes himself responsible for the whole affair. Yet he is not censured by the Government. Indeed it seems to connive at his enterprises, and to tempt him on to other adventures of the same kind. How will this end? An Italian friend, who is very intimate with Garibaldi, said to me, "You know that among heathen nations there are some objects which the Priests *taboo*, and no one dares touch them; the People of Italy idolize Garibaldi, they have *tabooed* him, and no one ventures to touch him."

Our informant took care to complete his animadversion on the quixotic enterprise of Garibaldi, with a vehement expression of indignation against the conduct of the Priesthood under Austrian influence. "What do you think," said he, "of Priests refusing Absolution to Italian soldiers at Confession, unless they pledge themselves to desert the standard of the King of Italy?"

This is a true charge. The Italian Govern-

ment has instituted legal proceedings against Monsignor Canzio, the *locum tenens* of the Bishop of Bologna, for the circular which he has addressed to the parochial clergy of the Diocese, in which he enjoins them to make use of the Confessional as an instrument for exciting the soldiers to desertion; and similar measures have been resorted to against the Bishop of Fano for the same reason. The Italian Government ought not to be surprised by such acts on the part of Italian Bishops. The Bishops of Italy are bound by solemn oaths to ".uphold the royalties of Peter" (i. e. the Roman Supremacy) "against all men," and to maintain the laws and canons of the Papacy. Among those laws and canons are some which distinctly assert that "all oaths, which are opposed to the interests of the Church of Rome, are *not* to be regarded as oaths, but as *perjuries*," and that "oaths of allegiance, which are prejudicial to the Roman See, are *not binding*[2]."

Such acts as those of Monsignor Canzio of

[2] See the Papal Canon Law, approved and published by its authority, Decretal Greg. IX., "De Jurejurando," Lib. ii. Tit. xxiv. Tom. ii. p. 358, ed. Lips. 1839. The whole of that title is very instructive.

Bologna, and of the Bishop of Fano, are mere *symptoms* of an inveterate malady: if the Italian Government would reach the *root* of the evil, must it not go far deeper than it is now doing? Ought it to prosecute Bishops of Italy for doing what in their conscience they feel bound to do? Ought it not rather to help them to *enlighten* their *consciences*, and make them sensible of the degradation to which they have been reduced by the usurpations of Rome? Ought it not to emancipate the Episcopate of Italy from the thraldom of its present dependence upon Rome, and to restore it to the spiritual freedom which it enjoyed in the fourth century?

I called on a distinguished Ecclesiastic, a Preposto or Rector of one of the principal parishes of Milan, and a member of the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Milan: he was sitting in his library, in his cassock, &c., and surrounded with books and papers. He favoured me with copies of the "atti," or proceedings of the Society, and at this and a subsequent interview he gave me all the information which I desired concerning its designs. Its history is important, as illustrating the present condition

and sentiments of an intelligent portion of the Clergy of this City and Diocese.

The "Società" was instituted in 1859; and as its "regolamento organico" declares, its design is "to promote among its members the cultivation of religious studies, especially those which have a practical influence on the social welfare of the people." Any ecclesiastic of the Diocese may be elected a member of it. It has a reading-room, where the members assemble from time to time for the reading of essays composed by themselves on subjects proposed, and for subsequent oral discussion of those subjects.

The meetings take place at intervals of at least three weeks, and their ordinary duration is two hours. My friend informed me that the Society consist of about two hundred members: of these, four are Canons of the Cathedral (being one-sixth of the whole number of Canons); nine Rectors (Preposti) of City Parishes, being two-fifths of the whole number; forty-one Curates of the City; thirty-nine Rectors and Vicars of Country Parishes: very few members of religious *orders* belong to the Society.

It is a remarkable proof of the bitterness of party feeling now prevalent in Italy, that a Society so constituted, and having such objects in view, should have been encountered with much obloquy and opposition in various quarters.

The Ultramontane Journals in Italy, such as the *Armonia* at Turin, the *Difensore* of Modena, the *Osservatore* of Brescia, and the *Civiltà Cattolica* at Rome, have been loud and vehement in their denunciations of it. The latter, in its number for April last (p. 116), describes it as "a scandalous, schismatical, and revolutionary society, and as guilty of rebellion against the Pope and Holy Roman See." And in France the journal,—which has inherited the principles and spirit of the "*Univers*"—the "*Monde*," has described it as a "lodge of clerical freemasonry, in which the most ungodly machinations are concerted against ecclesiastical authority." The defamatory articles of this last-named journal (contained in its numbers of the 21st and 31st Oct., 1861) were made the ground of an action against it for libel on the part of the Society, and the editors of the paper were

condemned in February last by the "Correctional Tribunal of Paris" to a month's imprisonment, and to pay 1300 francs' fine and costs.

Notwithstanding this, the Society has found a more formidable adversary nearer home, in the person of the present representative of the Archbishop of Milan, the Vicario Capitolare, Monsignor Caccia.

Monsignor Caccia, in a letter to the President of the Society, Giulio Ratti, Rector of the Church of S. Fedele at Milan, dated Monza, 9th Feb., 1862, expressed his regret that the Society had been formed, and his desire that it would dissolve itself.

To this letter the President replied, 14th Feb., 1862, with a humble petition that Monsignor Caccia would examine the design and proceedings of the Society, and would afford it an opportunity of stating its cause; and if he approved its principles, would place himself at its head.

This reply brought another letter from Monsignor Caccia, dated Monza, 16th Feb., 1862, in which he reiterated his recommendation that the Society should cease to

exist. This requisition elicited a respectful expostulation from the Society. At its session of March 11, 1862, it declared that it has not infringed any law, civil or ecclesiastical; it does not disguise its "earnest desire," to quote its own words, "to see a *reconciliation* between the Clergy and the People, and between the Church and the State: it affirms that it maintains inviolate the principles of Faith and Obedience to the Gospel, and to the traditions of the Church, and to the higher powers, especially to the Holy See." And after a long discussion, it adopted the following resolution: "That for the reasons stated in the *processo verbale* of that session, it cannot comply with the declaration of Monsignor the Vicario Capitolare, recommending the dissolution of the Society, and desires that this resolution be communicated to him and each of its members."

The Vicario replied to this declaration by an intimation that he could not receive any deputation from the Society, unless it were commissioned to communicate to him the fact of its dissolution.

This letter was read at a meeting of the

Society held on the 7th of this month, when seventy members were present; but produced no other effect than that of a resolution that the Society should meet on the 7th of June, for the re-election of officers.

The Vicario has since rejoined (Nov., 1862) with a condemnation of the Society, and with a peremptory order for its dissolution.

I offer no comment on these circumstances, but recount them simply as reflecting some light on the present condition of the Church in this city. There is an unhappy schism, which is now rending the Diocese. A large and powerful portion of the Clergy are at war with their Ecclesiastical Superior, who has been driven from the city by the people[3]; and are divided from the rest of their brethren, some of whom have not scrupled to affirm that the ministrations of the Clergy of the "Società Ecclesiastica" are irregular and even invalid, and ought to be shunned by the faithful[4].

My friend asked me whether I had seen a work lately published, entitled "Rinascenza Cattolica?" It is written by a distinguished

[3] La Diocesi di Milano, p. 108.

[4] Ibid. pp. 110, 111.

person, Mamiani, formerly Minister of Public Instruction. "You will see that it advocates free *election* of *Bishops* by the People and Clergy: this is our principle. The Clergy and People ought to be restored to their undoubted rights in the election of their Chief Pastors. We desire nothing new, but only to return to the ancient principles and practices of the Catholic Church."

I have been much interested by this volume, which is written in an attractive style.

The Author *imagines* himself to be a Roman Missionary of the Propaganda, who after ten years' imprisonment at Japan returns to Rome. He is brought in an English vessel, the "Isaac Newton," to Civita Vecchia, where he finds the whole city illuminated, and celebrating a festival. On inquiring the reason, he is told that the People are rejoicing at the election of their Bishop, which had taken place that morning. The Author takes his place in the railway train, and is told that Bishops are now chosen by the Clergy of their Dioceses; and that the former practice has been abandoned, according to which the elections of Bishops were governed by Concordats between

the See of Rome and the Courts of Italian Princes. He arrives at Rome, and is lodged at the Propaganda, which he finds greatly improved; he is astonished and delighted by the altered aspect of Rome: a fresh life has been breathed into it: its Churches, its Clergy, its Ritual are all animated by a new spirit; the Inquisition has been abolished; the Convents have been reformed; the temporal Power of the Papacy has been abolished; Rome has become the capital of Italy; the Italian Parliament meets in the Capitol; the State has been reconciled to the Church, and the Church is loyal to the State; and both co-operate in harmonious efforts for the public weal. The infidelity and immorality of the Roman priesthood, of which he draws a dark picture, and which had produced its natural fruits of unbelief and profligacy among the People, and of contempt and hatred of Christianity (pp. 113, 114), had been succeeded by a golden age of virtue and piety; and this series of beautiful pictures is completed by a sketch of a Bishop of Rome—such as Rome had in primitive times—who expresses the delight which he feels in being relieved from the weight of

secular cares which formerly oppressed him, and in being able to devote all his resources to the advancement of the divine glory by the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls.

At the conclusion of his pastoral address, the Bishop of Rome is represented by the Author as no longer seated in his chair, but raised aloft on a golden cloud, from which he bestows a benediction on Rome and the world; the People of Italy kneeling before him receive his apostolic benediction; the air is filled with sweet fragrance, like the perfumes of Paradise; and the nations of the earth flock from the four quarters of the world with banners and colours flying, which they plant with enthusiastic joy on the hill of the Vatican.

This romantic vision of an imaginary future is one which fascinates many in Italy at this time. It may exercise a salutary influence, if it excites the desire, and if it creates the determination, to ascertain from the authentic records of Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity what were the principles of the Christian

Church, and what was the condition of the Church of Rome in Apostolic times.

There is one question of great interest which the Author proposes to the Italian people. "Is it not derogatory to religion to say that the Christian Church must perish, if the Pope loses his temporal power, and becomes the subject of a king? The Christian Church," he says, "has her fixed dogmas and laws. Are *not national Churches*—each with their own Primates and Bishops—sufficient for their own spiritual existence?"

"We will not appeal to the Greek Church; which, except in one article, has preserved the primitive dogmas without any dependence on the Pope. The Latin Church herself has had many intervals when the Papal chair was vacant; did it then cease to exist[5]?"

Might not the writer have referred to the Church of Milan herself, in the best ages, when she was not subject to Rome?

My friend the Preposto said that he could not accept the Anglican doctrine that our Lord had *not* constituted One Supreme Visible

[5] Rinascenza Cattolica, p. 160.

Head of His Church on Earth. *Some* Visible Head (he thought) was necessary, but this Head ought also to be chosen by the free suffrages of Christendom.

He said that the accounts given of the Church affairs of Milan in a book lately printed here, and entitled "The Diocese of Milan in the last fifteen years," ("La Diocesi di Milano negli ultimi quindici anni,") was written in a sober and earnest style, by a grave and religious person well acquainted with the history of the Diocese, and might be entirely relied on for veracity.

In the correspondence of Passaglia's journal, the *Mediatore*, for this month (May 1862, p. 637), that work is described as a "libro molto serio, ed importante, d'un interesse non solo locale per la Lombardia, ma generale par tutta l'Italia: parla di Gaisruck, di Romilli," (the former Archbishops,) "di Ballerini, di Caccia, del clero, dei riti, del popolo, delle curie," &c. I will say a few words concerning it.

The Author of this "History of the Diocese of Milan" begins his narration at the year 1847, when Count Romilli was nominated to the

Archbishopric by the Austrian government, and the nomination was approved by the Pope; the usual mode of appointment to Bishoprics in Lombardy at that time. Romilli succeeded Cardinal Gaisruck, who was much respected by the Diocese.

Romilli is described as a person of feeble character, and of no theological learning; and as allowing himself to be swayed by intriguing men, who governed the Diocese by means of spies and informers, and thus exercised a secret and mysterious influence, which made them dreaded by the Clergy.

"After the appearance of the Jesuits among us," says the author, "a spirit of mutual distrust and constraint diffused itself in the Diocese. Espionage was made the instrument of ecclesiastical superintendence, and completed the work of diocesan disorganization; it was known in the remote corners of the Diocese, *who* was the unhappy priest that had accepted the office of being the spy of his brethren: and I know an incumbent who last year was on the point of resigning his benefice, because while he was receiving marks of seeming respect and affection from the

Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese, that same Court kept a spy at his side, who was its agent of police for the district[6]."

One of the prime agents of this Romilli was Taramella, a person of great subtlety and shrewdness, but of profligate life, and who, after a career of some years, in which he governed the Diocese by fear, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment at Mantua for his delinquencies.

Taramella was succeeded in the administration of the affairs of the Arch-diocese by two other persons, who exercised a dominant influence over the Archbishop till the time of his death at the beginning of June, 1859; and one of these persons, Monsignor Ballerini, was nominated by the Austrians on the 4th June, 1859—the very day of the battle of Magenta—to succeed Archbishop Romilli in the see of Milan. On the 6th the Austrians evacuated the city: on the 8th Victor Emmanuel was in Milan. Ballerini has disappeared from public life. The see of Milan is vacant. Monsignor Caccia has been elected by

[6] La Diocesi di Milano, 1862, p. 55.

the Chapter of the Cathedral as *locum tenens* of the Archbishop; but lives at Monza.

It appears from the incidents related by the writer, that the Austrian policy has been injurious to the Diocese by its endeavours to exercise secular influence on the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Lombardy, and through them upon the Clergy; and by using them as its tools for political purposes. Austria has secularized the Spiritualty, and has degraded the Episcopate and Priesthood in the eyes of the People, and made them and itself obnoxious to the Nation, and brought Religion into contempt, and thus prepared the way for its own downfall.

The writer deplores that the Clergy of the Diocese, having relied so long on the secular arm, have lost much of their inner spiritual life, and that now, when the Austrian Power has fallen, they do not find themselves in a condition to exercise their legitimate spiritual influence upon the people. Having been employed as Austrian agents of police, they now discover that they are not regarded by the people as Christian Pastors.

"What," asks the writer, "is the present

spiritual condition of the Province of Milan? The Bishops are less united than ever. The Ecclesiastical authority is a lifeless skeleton: may the day arrive when it will be clothed again with flesh, and quickened with life! What is the religious life of the people of this Diocese? It ought to be animated with a religious spirit diffused from the heart of its Ecclesiastical ruler. But this it has not. It is like an old hollow tree which supports itself on the bark of its trunk, but has not altogether lost the beauty of its leaves. Instead of drawing life from its centre, it leans on its circumference; alas! if a hurricane should come and batter it with its fury.

"If the day should arrive (which Heaven forbid!) when the Catholic Faith should find in Italy only a tomb, what would be the inscription which succeeding ages would read there? 'Behold here the end to which the Faith has been brought by the infatuated obstinacy of Rome and her champions.'"

There is another little volume lately published at Milan, which deals with an important Ecclesiastical question, and which has attracted much attention. It is entitled, "Il

Seminario di Milano e gli Oblati." It describes the unhappy condition into which the Episcopal Seminary of Milan for the training of Clergy has fallen, under the direction of the religious congregation called the "Oblati," to whom it was committed in the recent archiepiscopate of Romilli, who expelled, in 1853, sixteen of the former Professors from the seminary—some of them very able men, respected and beloved by the pupils,—but suspected of being too favourable to the cause of Italian liberty, in order to make way for the members of this religious congregation. The author is loud in his complaints of the incompetency and ignorance, as well as the bigotry, of these theological teachers, and of the evils thence resulting to the Church and to the country.

"It is a lamentable truth (says the writer [7]), attested by the unanimous voice of the Clergy and Laity, that the teaching of the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of Italy, for the training of the Priesthood, is in a deplorable state of decline." He appeals to the witness of the

[7] Il Seminario di Milano, p. 4.

Abate Gioberti, and Abate Rosmini, and Filippo Perfetti, and even to the avowal of the Ultramontane periodical, the *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome. "The instruction," he adds, "is miserable, in regard to the subjects taught, the mode of teaching, and the quality of the teachers. The Seminary of Milan, in the Archiepiscopate of Gaisruck, was in a better condition than those of other Dioceses. But the events of 1848 and 1849, which excited a vindictive spirit in the hearts of the Austrian rulers of Lombardy, had a disastrous influence on the Seminary of Milan. The whole corps of professors was dismissed; and" (as has been before stated) "the Seminary was placed under the control of the Congregation above mentioned." He then cites the words of one of the best priests and wisest philosophers that Italy has produced in the present age, one whose piety and virtue are universally acknowledged, and who had great experience in teaching, who is now no longer living, Rosmini. "We have abandoned the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers, and have declined to the age of those wretched text-books which are used in our seminaries, and which will one

day be regarded as the most trashy and repulsive compositions that have been produced in the eighteen centuries of the life of the Church; books without spirit, without principles, without eloquence, and without method."

"The biblical studies, which have made so much progress in other countries, are jejune, or rather null, in our Seminary. The reading of the Holy Scriptures is neglected; and the study of Church History is treated with indifference [8].

"In former days our young Clergy were nurtured under the eye, and beneath the roof of our Bishops; but now our probationers for the Priesthood scarcely see any one, and converse with no one, but themselves. They are shut up in the narrow cells of their own minds. They are under a rigid and heartless discipline of fear. They never attain to any noble spiritual elevation. They become mechanical, material, sensual. This for the most part is the condition of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Milan, which contains 500

[8] Il Seminario di Milano, 1862, pp. 18. 21.

students, the future teachers of the people; the priests of the Church of Lombardy.

"When they come in contact with the people, they will be unable to sympathize with them; the Clergy will be anti-social, and Society will be anti-hierarchical. Indeed these results are already visible: and when the Ministers of Religion are despised and detested, what will become of Religion itself? What will become of Society? Will it not be disorganized and desolated by the ravages of Democracy and Anarchy?"

The following words were written by a young student of the seminary of Milan in the month of March in the year 1862: "Gracious heavens! to what a point are we hastening! to the terrible dilemma of either disobeying our superiors, or rebelling against our own consciences. We shrink from either alternative. . . . But in the mean while what is the Government doing? Does it now give a thought to us? We too are Italians; and the Municipality of the city is indifferent to our condition. If things go on a little longer as they do now, both the Church and the Country will rue it. The Church will have an incompetent

Clergy, hated by the People: the Country will be detested, betrayed, and assailed by the Clergy. Here are many, who, being beguiled by their superiors, deem it a conscientious obligation to rebel against the Government . . and they are doing it. Woe to those who will take no thought of these things till it is too late!"

The present Government of Victor Emmanuel is occupied with military preparations, and diplomatic negotiations; and as yet has paid little attention to the affairs of Religion and of the Church. It is much, however, to be hoped that it may assist the Church to remove the abuses which now impair her efficiency. A loyal and learned Episcopate and Clergy, freed from the trammels of the Court of Rome, might preserve the Country from the social dangers which now threaten it, and might effectually co-operate with the Government in consolidating the fabric of the State on the basis of true religion.

I called on an intelligent Italian layman, interested in Church affairs; he showed me a book of prayers compiled by the late Abate Misserini from Holy Scripture and the Ancient

Fathers. "Is this book popular?" I asked. "No." "Why not?" "The Clergy for the most part recommend another sort of Manuals of devotion. Here is one, which is very popular—the 'Filotea' of Riva, one of the confessors of the Cathedral; it is in the 13th edition, and sells by thousands. But look at it; it is a *libro fanatico*. Every disorder of every part of the human body has a Saint, to whom the patient may pray for a cure; and this little book is stuffed full of legendary fables, and draws the people off from sound religion to Superstition, and Superstition is preparing the way for Infidelity. When they find that a great part of their religion is false, they will soon come to think that none of it is true."

On returning to our hotel, found an Italian friend. He said that the hope of Reformation in Italy was from the People. "But why not," I asked, "from the Clergy also? Do you think that attempts at Reformation of a Church can prosper except they come from *within?*" "No: they must come from *within*, and they may come from the '*basso clero*' in Italy, but will *not*, I fear, come from the *Bishops*. The Austrians endeavoured to

rule us by means of the Papal Episcopate, just as the Normans tried to govern your Saxon forefathers by Norman Bishops; and the Bishops of Italy were the slaves of Austria and the Pope, in order to be the tyrants of the Clergy and the People.".

I asked, why the Government of Italy did not proceed now, as our rulers did at the English Reformation, namely, by proposing this question: "Can it be proved from Holy Scripture and Ancient Christian Authors that the Bishop of Rome has any more power in a *foreign* state—such as the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel now is with respect to Rome—than any other Bishop has?"

"Oh! but (he replied) if that question were now put, the Bishops of Italy, being what they are, would all say *Yes*." "But could they *prove* it? Let the question be examined: let it be inquired, what power had the *Bishop of Rome in this city of Milan in the days of S. Ambrose?* Had he any voice in the election or consecration of S. Ambrose? No. Had he any jurisdiction over the Metropolitans of Aquileia or Ravenna? No. Had he any jurisdiction at Turin or Genoa? No. Let

the Church of Italy return to what she was in her most glorious times, and then the Realm of Italy will prosper—but not otherwise."

"Ma ci vuol tempo," he said, "and in the mean time a great deal is being done by the circulation of books which are preparing the way for Reformation. I have endeavoured to acquaint my friends in Italy with the contents of the English Book of Common Prayer. Hundreds of copies of the Italian Translation of it have been circulated, and it has been eagerly received by many. I lent a copy of it to a Priest who used to rail against England as a land of schismatics, heretics, and infidels, and he confessed to me that the Litany in that Book was the most beautiful form of Prayer he had ever seen. After the battles of Magenta and Solferino I was entrusted with the superintendence of the Military Hospitals; and I thought that I could not do better service to the poor wounded soldiers in those hospitals,—there were some of almost all European Nations,—than by supplying them with suitable forms of devotion in their own mother tongue. So I translated many of the Collects and Prayers of the English Prayer Book into

various languages, and put them into the hands of the soldiers on their sick beds in the wards of the hospitals. Almost all accepted and used them, and expressed the great comfort they found in them. Some of the Roman Catholic Clergy and Bishops who visited the hospitals were delighted with them, and I was warmly thanked for what I had done. They did not know *whence* the prayers came. Some thought they were my own; at last, however, it was discovered that they were translated from the English Prayer Book, and then one of the Bishops in my neighbourhood denounced them as heretical, and laid a complaint against me before the Government. But I did not mind that. The good had been done, though with some loss of friends and worldly advantage on my part, and I thank God for it, and know that He can reward me a hundredfold." He spoke these words with tears in his eyes.

"One of our great difficulties in Italy," he said, "is from the low origin and poverty of the Clergy, and from their want of learning [9].

[9] There are a few exceptions. Monsignor Pietro Emilio Tiboni, formerly Professor of Hebrew and Theology in

They are almost all from the lower classes, peasants, or small shopkeepers. The people, especially in the towns, are *above* their teachers in intelligence: penury makes the Clergy dependent and servile, and tempts them to resort to low arts and shifts for a livelihood, or to superstitious tricks and impostures, and they have not the requisite knowledge to enable them to labour with success in the work of Reformation. Few of them have any collections of books. Many of the Bishops are of plebeian origin (there are some exceptions, the Bishops of Como and Bergamo), and when raised from humble estate to high positions in the Church, they are too often the worst tyrants of all."

An interesting work on the social and intellectual condition of the Clergy in Italy has lately been published by an able and thoughtful writer, Filippo Perfetti, entitled "Il Clero e la Società," in which he investigates the causes which have led to the degradation of the Clergy, and considers the means by which

the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Brescia, has published some very learned works, particularly his Misticismo Biblico, Milan, 1853.

they might be enabled to exercise their legitimate influence for the moral and religious benefit of the country[1]. There is also a striking declaration on the part of a large body of the Clergy themselves, in a remarkable Address to the Pope which has lately been published at Naples, and signed by *many thousand Priests*. I will transcribe some paragraphs from it.

"Così basso è caduta la sublimissima santificatrice missione della Chiesa fino dall' infausto momento in cui lo spirito del mondo potè sbalzar dal suo altare un tempo sì pieno di luce e di vita la Croce nuda del Cristo, per sostituirvi l'aureo simulacro del dio potere! . . . . *Si direbbe che in fatto di corruzione non si potesse andare più innanzi. Eppure in fondo a quelle piaghe, che sformano così orribilmente le divine sembianze della sposa dell' Agnello immacolato, il popolo vede qualche cosa ancora di peggio, per cui è costretto di rivolger da quelle lo sguardo inorridito.* Vede i santi ministeri della Chiesa, i suoi celesti conforti, i suoi riti più augusti e tre-

[1] More is said concerning this work below, chap. xii.

mendi divenuti oggetto di sacrileghe speculazioni. Vede la Cattedra santa dell' Evangelo conversa in profana tribuna, in cattedra di pestilenza, dalla quale si predica la ribellione alle patrie autorità, rinfiammando odii sanguinarii e fratricide passioni. Vede, e fa orrore a solo pensarlo, vede convertersi i tribunali di grazia e di remissione in covi di raggiro tenebroso ed esservi perfino chi osa abusare di un così santo e pietoso instituto, col renderlo una requisitoria di polizia, in cui si promette oggi al penitente il perdono di Dio per darlo domani in poter del carnefice."

I asked my friend, "Will the Bishops of Lombardy go to Rome for the Canonization at Whitsuntide?" "No, they are afraid lest if they go they will not be allowed to come back." "But why does not the Government endeavour to come to terms with them? Why does it not attempt to conciliate them, or at least some of them? There must be some reasonable men among them." "Unhappily, the Government is 'poco curante' about religion. Our rulers suppose that they can govern without it, that they can keep the people in order by secular and material powers,

by an army and a police. This is our misfortune. Cavour's maxim was, 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato.' A Church ought to be *free* to *do good*, and ought to be assisted by the State to *do good;* but a Church ought *not* to be *free* to *do evil;* and the Church of Rome, when she wishes to *do evil*, is sure to plead a desire to *do good.* She pleaded zeal for God's glory when she massacred the Huguenots. She is now pleading a desire to do honour to some holy martyrs, and sends for all the Bishops of Christendom on that plea, and commands them to leave their own flocks at Whitsuntide to wait upon her; but she has a *political* view and *secular* end in all this: she seeks to maintain thereby her own usurped power, by which she keeps the souls and bodies of men in chains. Therefore the maxim 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' which sounds so plausible in theory, is really an illusion in practice. Men cannot do without Religion. No civil Government can subsist without a religious basis. All attempts to raise up States without religious foundations have failed. The Italians especially are a religious people. It is wonderful to see how strongly they are affected by reference

to the events of Sacred History. An orator the other day was making a funeral speech to the people on the soldiers who fell in Sicily, and compared Garibaldi to the sword drawn by the Angel against the host of Sennacherib. The comparison was received with an enthusiastic burst of applause: if he had compared him to Hector, Ajax, or Achilles, it would have fallen quite flat: the Italians love to think that they have Religion on their side. It is much to be desired that our Government would understand this, and then it might do any thing."

CHAPTER V.

MILAN (*continued*).

May 23rd.—Visited the Ambrosian Library. Found one of the Prefetti of the Library there, the learned ritualist, Dom. Giovanni Dozio, who has published some valuable treatises on the peculiarities of the Ambrosian Ritual.

His "Cerimoniale Ambrosiano," published at Milan in 1853, is a learned and interesting work, and full of information concerning the history of that Ritual.

He had some volumes of Muratori and Mabillon open before him, together with some ancient MSS., and informed me that he was engaged in collating and verifying the cartularies and other documents cited by those Authors. I asked him whether S. Carlo Borromeo, who revised the Ambrosian Ritual, had

not made some modifications in it, as was done by Leo X., Paul V., and especially Urban VIII., in the Roman Breviary; and by the Archbishops of Paris in the Parisian Breviaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a view of giving them a more classical tone and character, with the aid of Santeul, Charles Coffin, and others, whose Hymns have been adopted by some in our own days as Hymns of the *primitive Church.* He said that something of that kind had been done in the Ambrosian Liturgy; and put into my hands a volume published at Milan in the present year by one of his brother Prefetti of the Ambrosian Library, Dom. Biraghi, which is entitled "Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio;" and in it the learned editor has endeavoured to restore the Hymns of the great Milanese Bishop to their primitive form. I procured a copy of this work at the Library, and have been much gratified by it.

It is one of the most favourable specimens of the theological learning which still lingers in the Diocese of Milan. The author of the recent History of that Diocese draws a very pleasing portrait of the piety, virtue, and

erudition, and public services of the revered Editor, and deplores, as one of the evil signs of the times, that such a person has been left to languish in obscurity[1]. One of the unfortunate results which that writer laments as arising from the want of encouragement to theological studies, and the low tone to which the clerical character has been reduced, is, that many of the Clergy of northern Italy had renounced their ecclesiastical calling, and betaken themselves to secular pursuits. He states that in Piedmont such cases of defection are common, and expresses a fear that Italy may be degraded in this respect to the miserable condition of France, where more than a *hundred Clergy*, in *Paris* alone, are at this time engaged in *driving cabs*[2].

Ought not *England* to take warning from this example?

The Hymns of S. Ambrose have exercised a powerful influence on Christendom. They

[1] See the pathetic complaint in pp. 45, 46 of La Diocesi di Milano, 1862.

[2] La Diocesi di Milano, p. 52. I was assured by a learned Priest at Paris last year that this number is *below* the mark.

were designed by him to be a preventive against the errors of Arianism, and to confirm the profession of the true faith in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. Hence their doctrinal character. In a letter[3] to his sister Marcellina, S. Ambrose says that the Arians complained that he had bewitched the people of Milan by his poetry; and he speaks of the marvellous effects produced by it in recovering the multitude from heresy to the true faith. S. Augustine testifies to the potent effect of those hymns upon his own mind[4] after his baptism; and says that he was melted to tears by them in the Church at Milan. S. Celestine, the friend of Augustine, replied to the Nestorians by quotations from the Hymns of S. Ambrose. Isidore of Seville, and Bede in England, bore testimony to their influence in their age and country: very many of them have found a permanent place in the liturgies of the Western Church[5].

On account of the celebrity of S. Ambrose,

[3] Ambros. Epist. xx.

[4] S. Aug. Conf. ix. c. vi. c. vii.

[5] See Biraghi's preface to the Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, p. 4.

many Hymns have been attributed to him which are not his. And on the other hand, some critics have gone into the opposite extreme, and have deprived him of his property. In the Benedictine edition of his works only twelve Hymns are admitted, and Dom. Biraghi shows reason for believing that only seven of these are genuine. This learned Milanese theologian has therefore had a difficult task to perform, and he seems to have done it well. He has examined all the Hymns which are called "Ambrosian," and he states the grounds on which a hymn has been admitted or rejected by himself. Does it correspond in matter and style to the genuine hymns of S. Ambrose? Does it offend against the rules of prosody, which, for the most part, were carefully observed by S. Ambrose? Does it neglect *metre*, and adopt *rhyme*, which was never used by him? Does it find a place in the ancient liturgical service-books of the Church of S. Ambrose, the Church of Milan? Has it been ascribed to S. Ambrose by authors contemporary with him, or who lived soon after him?

The application of these criteria to the

Hymns commonly called Ambrosian, has resulted in the adoption of eighteen Hymns and four Poems as the genuine offspring of the great Milanese Bishop: these are Hymns for *Christmas Eve*, *Epiphany* (where he specifies Christ's *three* Manifestations, viz. to the Wise men, at His Baptism, and at Cana), *Paschaltide;* these three are admirable specimens—*St. John* the Evangelist's Day; on *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in which he asserts St. Paul's equality to St. Peter[6]; for *Martyrs;* at *Cock-crow;* at *Daybreak*—a noble hymn, full of love and reverence for Christ the true Day-spring[7]; at the *third hour* on *Sundays;*

"Primus Petrus Apostolus,
Nec Paulus impar gratiâ,
Electionis vas sacræ
Petri adæquavit fidem;"

and so in his treatise on the Holy Spirit, lib. ii. ad fin. "Nec Paulus inferior Petro."

[7] "Splendor paternæ gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis, et fons luminis,
Diem Dies illuminans,
Verusque Sol, illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque Sancti Spiritûs
Infunde nostris sensibus."

at the *third hour* on other days; at the *sixth hour;* at the *ninth hour;* at *Evening*. On the Martyrdom of *S. Agnes* (a beautiful hymn); of *SS. Victor*, *Nabor*, and *Felix*, martyred at Milan; of *SS. Protasius* and *Gervasius;* of *S. Lawrence*, Archdeacon of Rome. Hymn to be sung by *Virgins;* Verses on the *Baptistery;* Epitaph on his brother Satyrus; on the Basilica Romana at Milan; Couplets on the paintings from the Bible, in the Basilica Ambrosiana.

The learned Editor favours his readers with a well-drawn character of the genuine Hymns of S. Ambrose, which, in these days when so much is written on Hymnology, may be interesting to many;

"S. Ambrose has a style peculiar to himself, clear, sweet, and yet vigorous, grand, and noble; wonderful closeness of thoughts; singular brevity of expression. In his Hymns he never allows himself to be led away by poetical prettiness, but loves sublime doctrinal verities; he soars aloft with a bold flight to the contemplation of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, the mysteries of Heaven, the divine morality of the Gospel; and prefers the vivid

and homely language of Scripture to a flowery and fascinating style.

"There are no glittering flashes; but his hymns beam brightly with a calm, severe, and spiritual enthusiasm: there is not much of tender sentiment, but there is the courage of the Cross, the power of Faith, the victory of the Gospel over the world. This being so, we cannot adorn with his name certain Hymns, which have indeed a religious sentiment, but are without vigour, without clear dogmatic views, without elevated thoughts [8]. He wrote his Hymns, not because he was excited by poetical fire, nor as an innocent solace and refreshment to himself, but in order to supply instruction, and minister wholesome spiritual food to the flock committed to his care. And he reaped the fruit of his labours, beyond his most sanguine expectations, as he himself testifies, and his biographer Paulinus records. The people of Milan, and a large part of the Western world, were rescued from Arianism and were confirmed in the faith, in no small degree, by the Hymns of S. Ambrose [1]."

[8] Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, p. 7.

[1] Ibid. pp. 12, 13.

May not this fact be instructive to others? May it not remind us that Hymnology like that of S. Ambrose may be a very effective instrument in recovering modern populations to an intelligent appreciation and love of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the discipline, worship, and ritual of the Church?

Attached to the Ambrosian Library is a gallery of pictures; more interesting, I think, than the Brera. I was surprised to see no artists studying these beautiful works, or copying the pictures of this collection; there were only two so engaged in the Brera. "The young painters and sculptors are all gone after Garibaldi," was the explanation given by the *custode*.

Went from the Ambrosian Library to the Church of S. Ambrogio, the most interesting church in Milan for its antiquity. It was founded by S. Ambrose, and dedicated by him on June 19, A.D. 387[2]. The present form of this Church is due to Ambrosius Anspertus, Archbishop of Milan in the ninth century;

[2] See S. Ambrose's Letter to his sister Marcellina, Epist. 22, and Biraghi, Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, pp. 81—85.

but it was probably built upon more ancient foundations. Like S. Clemente at Rome, it is approached through an atrium, or open court-yard, or ante-temple, surrounded by a cloister on each of its four sides.

In these atria, in former times, the poor asked the alms of the faithful; here the penitents implored their prayers; here those who were under penance remained exposed to wind and rain, hence called "hyemantes," and were not permitted to enter the doors of the sanctuary.

These ante-temples were used also in ancient times as places of interment, and the walls of the atrium of S. Ambrogio are encrusted with many sepulchral marbles having ancient inscriptions. I observed one which commemorates a certain *Satyrus*, an exorcist of the Church, whose name recalls that of S. Ambrose's brother, who, as well as S. Ambrose, was a Governor of a Province; and to whom, after his own elevation to the Episcopate, S. Ambrose confided the management of his temporal affairs, and who is commemorated in one of the chapels of this Church. The inscription is,—

SATVRVS EXSOR
CISTA MARITVS
SE VIVVM CONT.
VOT. POS.
DEP. DIE
XVII KAL
M. IAN
. . . .
FILIA EORVM

Some of the Inscriptions are in *Greek*, mixed with Latin, e.g.—

B. M.
ЄNΘAΔЄ KITЄ (*i. e.* κεῖται) ЄN
ЄIPIN (εἰρήνῃ) O KAΛO(s)
KVMHTOC BACCOC

and I observed one in *Hebrew*, with the emblem of the seven-branched candlestick.

In the nave of the Church of S. Ambrogio is a very interesting *ambon*, or large pulpit, of marble, where the reader in ancient days stood to read the Gospels and Epistles to the people; here they would be well heard. Sermons were usually preached from the steps of the altar. The ambon is very spacious, and might have served also, as such places usually did, for the Canonical Singers of the Church.

It is adorned with an ancient bas-relief, representing an *agape* or *love-feast*, such as is mentioned in the New Testament by St. Paul and St. Jude [3].

In ancient churches there were usually *two* ambons, that on the north for the reading of the Gospel, that on the south for the Epistle and for other lessons of Scripture. S. Carlo Borromeo gave direction that there should be two such ambons in all the Churches of his Diocese; the ambon for the Gospel was to be the higher of the two [4].

In the *earliest* liturgical writings the *south* side of the altar,—or the side on which the Epistle is read,—was usually called the *right* side; and the *north* side, or that on which the Gospel is read, was called the *left* side. But at the end of the fifteenth century an alteration was made by *Romish* liturgical writers—such as Patrizi and Marcello—in the language of the Church in this respect; and since their time the *north* side has been called the *right* side; and the *south* side is termed the *left*; a

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 20—23. Jude 12.

[4] Cerimon. Ambros., p. 72.

remarkable change, which arose from the practice of having Crucifixes upon altars, and from the reference of its bearings to them: "nam *crucifixi* super ipso stantis *dextera* ad cornu *evangelii* vergit[5]."

This church is full of records of S. Ambrose. It was founded by him. We cannot believe the story that its doors are those which he closed against the Emperor Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica (A.D. 390), but they serve to remind us of the fact. There is an ancient portrait of him on a pilaster of the Church opposite the ambon: The mosaic over the altar in the choir represents the Saviour in glory, with a Greek Inscription, "Jesus Christ the King of Glory,"

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I have copied the *errors* exactly. SS. Gervasius and Protasius are at his side, and supply another reminiscence of the history of S. Ambrose. The bodies of those saints and martyrs were discovered A.D. 386, in times of

[5] Grassi in Cerimon. Ambros., p. 71.

trouble and persecution for the true faith in our Lord's Divinity, and were interred in this Basilica; and it pleased God to work a miracle in behalf of the truth for which they suffered, to which S. Augustine, then at Milan, has borne witness [6], and also S. Ambrose himself in a Hymn [7] written by him on that occasion. In the choir are ancient mosaics representing events in the life of S. Ambrose, and in the apse behind the altar is an ancient marble chair for the Archbishop of Milan, and on each side of it are stalls for the Canons, who occupy the places of the Suffragans of the province. Near them is a representation of the Baptism of S. Augustine, which took place on Easter Even, the 24th April, A.D. 387, in the Baptistery, which was near the greater Basilica, within the walls of the city, to the south of the Basilica of S. Thecla. There is also a Lectern, on which is a very ancient Ambrosian Service-book in vellum, a large folio volume,

[6] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei xxii. 8. Serm. 286. Confessions, Book ix. See also S. Ambrose, Epist. 22, and Paulin. Vit. Ambrosii, § 14.

[7] The Hymn beginning "Grates tibi Jesu novas." See "Inni Sinceri," p. 18, and p. 81.

richly illuminated, and with the musical notation; it is one of six volumes. There is also in this Church a chapel which bears the name of Marcellina, the sister of S. Ambrose. It is said that her body reposes by the side of that of her brother, and of those of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, beneath the altar of this Church. S. Ambrose died at the age of 57, and was buried here on Easter Day, A.D. 397.

There is also here a chapel, formerly called the Basilica of Fausta, but now known by the name of the brother of S. Ambrose, *S. Satyrus*, where are some very interesting ancient Mosaics. S. Ambrose wrote an epitaph in elegiac verse in memory of his brother[8], who died A.D. 379, and was buried here near the body of S. Victor; and last year (1861), when some excavations were made in this chapel, their remains were found in a marble sarcophagus, with the initials S. V. S. S. H. R., which have been explained to signify, "SANCTUS VICTOR, SANCTUS SATYRVS HIC REQUIESCUNT."

In the midst of these reminiscences of the

[8] The Poem begins "Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem." Inni Sinceri, p. 137.

great Bishop of Milan and Doctor of the Western Church, I sat down on one of the benches of the nave, and enjoyed the pleasure of reading some of his Hymns, of which I had procured a copy at the Ambrosian Library. Their grave and sober dignity, the deep dogmatic truths which they contain, and which are there commended to the memories and hearts of the people with unadorned simplicity; and their holy thoughts, expressed in terse and nervous language,—show, that clear and vigorous writing, and sound orthodox teaching, were combined in the Hymnology of the ancient Western Church; and may serve as a corrective of modern tendencies to substitute sentimentalism for doctrine, and meretricious verbal prettiness for modest chastity of style. One of the extant poems of S. Ambrose consists of twenty-one couplets[9], which describe the different paintings of scenes from the Old and New Testament which formerly adorned the walls of this Church; and by the help of these verses it would be easy to restore it in that respect to the appearance which it presented in the fourth century.

[9] Inni Sinceri, p. 144.

This venerable Church, its mosaics, its choir, its ambon, its ancient marble chair, and the stalls which have succeeded the seats of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province, suggest some reflections on the ancient condition of the Church of Milan, as compared with its present state.

In the days of S. Ambrose, who was consecrated to this see in A.D. 374, the Bishop of Milan was elected by the *Clergy and People*, and by the *Bishops* of the Province, with the consent of the Emperor, *without any* reference to the *Bishop of Rome*. This is confessed by some of the most learned Roman Catholic writers [1]. The Bishop of Milan was a Metropolitan, and had jurisdiction over a large Province which contains nearly twenty Episcopal Sees. There were formerly ancient chairs here for eighteen Suffragans, nine on each side of the Metropolitan [2]. On the right side were the names and pictures of Bishops of

[1] e. g. Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, de Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii, VI. iv. p. 256, ed. Venet. 1770; and see Thomassin. Vetus et nova Eccl. Disciplin. ii. 2, c. 8.

[2] See the description of the Basilica Ambrogiana, Milan, 1837, p. 47.

Vercelli, Novara, Lodi, Tortona, Asti, Turin, Aosta, Acqui, and Genoa: on the left, those of Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Ventimiglia, Savona, Albenga, Pavia, Piacenza, and Como; all which were Suffragans of Milan; and here it seems that provincial Councils were held. In the age of S. Ambrose the Bishops of these sees were *elected* by the *Clergy and People*, and were *confirmed* by the *Metropolitan* of the Province,—that is, by the Bishop of Milan, and were then consecrated by him and two or three of his Suffragan Bishops. All this was done without *any reference* to *Rome*. Thus S. Ambrose, in his Epistles still extant, mentions that he himself ordained the Bishops of Pavia, Brescia, Como, Bergamo, and others[3].

Such was the form of Church-Government which had been established at Milan in the fourth century; and this is a specimen of what prevailed in other Provinces of Italy, for example in the Picenian Province, which comprised the Episcopal Sees of Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Rimini, Urbino; in the Flaminian Province, which contained Ravenna, Faenza, Imola,

[3] See Tillemont, Mémoires, Vol. x. p. 37, Art. vi. Saint Ambroise.

and other Bishoprics; in the Æmilian Province, in which were the Sees of Bologna, Modena, Parma, and others; and in the Venetian, which contained Aquileia, Padua, Verona, and others; these Provinces were governed by Metropolitans, and neither they nor any of their Suffragan Bishops were in any degree dependent for their election or confirmation or consecration on the *Bishop of Rome.*

But *at the present time*, the Bishop of Rome *will not allow* the Clergy and People of any of the dioceses above mentioned, to have Bishops *without his consent.* Now that Pius IX. is at variance with Victor Emmanuel, the Clergy and People of Italy are to be deprived of Bishops! "What have these sheep done[4]," that they are to have no Pastors? "Feed My sheep," was our Lord's command to St. Peter[5], but the successor of St. Peter, as the Pope claims to be, heeds not the divine words. The People of Italy are not to have Bishops. It is in vain for them to attempt to exercise their ancient rights, and to choose Bishops,

[4] 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. 1 Chron. xxi. 17.

[5] John xxi. 16, 17.

for the Ordination of Clergy or for the Confirmation of children, unless the Bishop of Rome is pleased to send to them what he calls "bulls of institution." Italy is virtually under an Interdict. Even if another Ambrose were to arise at Milan, or another Philastrius or Gaudentius at Brescia, those holy men could not now be consecrated. But this was not so in the age of Ambrose, Philastrius, and Gaudentius, all of whom the Church of Rome herself professes to revere as saints, and whose names she has inserted in her Breviary. . . . "Quousque tandem?" How long will Rome tax the patience of the People, and presume on the divine forbearance?

The history of the Church of Milan in the age of S. Ambrose is fraught with instruction and encouragement, in reference to Christian doctrine as well as to Church Discipline.

The predecessor of S. Ambrose in the See of Milan was Auxentius, who had occupied this See for twenty years, and who was the leader of the Arian heretics in the West, and the bitter opponent of S. Hilary and S. Philastrius and other orthodox teachers. But it pleased God in due time to raise up in an

extraordinary manner an Ambrose to succeed him, and to contend manfully and successfully for the true faith, against the heresy which had been propagated by his predecessor. Besides this, some in high places, especially Justina the Empress, encouraged the Arian heresy; and S. Ambrose had to encounter their bitter opposition. He did encounter it, and overcame it. Such examples as these may stimulate the courage, and may comfort the hearts, of the faithful in times of trial and defection like the present.

I fell into conversation with a young *chierico* of this Church; he led me into the Sacristy, and took out an unconsecrated wafer, and described the mode in which the Priest receives and administers. The minute directions in the Roman Missal to the celebrant Priest, to pour a few drops of water into the wine in the chalice, and to break the host (which is done after the consecration) into two several parts, and to break off a particle of one of the parts, and to put it into the chalice, and then to receive the two parts, and to consume the *whole of the wine* with the particle in it, are more remarkable, when we consider that with

all this scrupulous care with regard to the reception of the bread and *wine* by the *celebrant*, the *people* are deprived of that share in the blessed Sacrament, which He who instituted it designed for them.

One part of the doctrine of Rome contradicts another. She says, in one of her popular Catechisms for First Communion, published at Florence in 1861, that "by virtue of the consecration, the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the body *and blood* of Christ" ("la *sostanza* del *pane* si converte nella *sostanza* del corpo *e sangue* di Cristo"), and she says that "the Communicant who receives only the bread, receives the *blood* as well as the body of Christ;" and thus she defends her own practice in *denying* the *cup* to the communicant. And yet she *orders* the *celebrant* to receive the cup; and teaches in the same Manual that the "*celebrant* receives the *blood* under the species of *wine*" ("il celebrante piglia il *sangue* sotto la specie del *vino*"); and she also says "that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the *body only* of Jesus Christ is under the species of *bread*, and the *blood only* under the species of *wine*."

These words are in a catechism published at Florence in 1861, by authority of the Archbishop, 13th edition, p. 32.

Surely there is much confusion here.

If the *celebrant* is *commanded* to receive the *cup*, and if, under the species of wine, he receives the blood, and if "the blood only of Christ is under the species of *wine*," how can the *communicant* be sure that he himself receives the blood, since he is *not permitted* to receive the *cup?* And again, if "the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the body *and blood* of Christ," and therefore the communicant receives the *blood* when he receives the bread, why did our Blessed Lord institute the Holy Sacrament with wine as well as bread? and why did He say, when He blessed the *cup*, "Drink ye *all* of *this*, *for* this is My *blood*[6]?" It seems, therefore, that the Church of Rome in this matter is not consistent with herself, and contradicts One far greater than herself.

The consumption of the *whole of the wine* by the *celebrant alone*, and of *all the parts of*

[6] Matt. xxvi. 27, 28.

the whole wafer, isolates the celebrant from the Congregation, and even from the other Priests. The Church of Rome *forbids* the celebrant to *share* his consecrated wafer with any one else. This seems to be altogether at variance with the intention of Him who instituted the Holy Sacrament to be a means of showing forth and strengthening the *communion* of His members in Himself, and their mutual love to each other in Christ by partaking of *the* "*one bread*" (1 Cor. x. 17), and "*the cup*" (1 Cor. x. 21; xi. 26), in the Holy Eucharist.

This isolation and *non-communion* (if the word may be allowed) is still more visible in the practice which has grown up in the Church of Rome, of administering to the People, *not* just after the reception by the celebrant, *nor* even *during* the celebration of the Mass, but *after* it; and even at a *different time* from it, by means of consecrated wafers reserved in the tabernacle of the Altar.

"You do not believe in the real presence, and you do not *reserve* the host for the sick and absent," said my young friend to me; and

when I informed him that the Church of England teaches in her Catechism that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and that she has provided a special office for the Communion of the *Sick*, he said, "But suppose a Priest is *not fasting*, how can he administer the Communion to a sick person?" "Do we not read in the Gospels," I replied, "that our Lord instituted the holy Sacrament, and that the Apostles received it, when they were *not fasting?* how do you account for this, if it is *absolutely necessary* to be fasting, in order to partake of the Holy Communion?"

According to the teaching of the Church of Rome it is essential to be fasting since the *previous midnight*, before the reception of the Holy Communion. In the "Catechism for First Communion" (printed at Florence in 1861, p. 6), the communicant is taught that he would "be guilty of most grievous deadly sin ('peccato mortale gravissimo') if he eats any thing after midnight before the communion."

My young friend turned the conversation, and said, "But you do not believe in 'Maria immacolata.'"

"We believe that *Christ alone* is without taint of sin, and we know that the great Father and Saint, S. Augustine, who is so much honoured at Milan, and in this Church, taught the same doctrine[7], and that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was never imposed upon you as an article of faith till the year 1854."

"Then you do not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter?"

"We do not believe that he is competent to impose new articles of faith upon the Christian world. We know from the Epistle to the Galatians that on one occasion St. Peter himself 'walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel' (Gal. ii. 8—15), and that St. Paul resisted him to the face; and (as S. Augustine observes in his correspondence with S. Jerome) the Epistle to the Galatians is Canonical Scripture, dictated by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and *therefore* we are

[7] The *proofs* of this may be seen in a Sermon by the Author of this Journal, Occas. Sermons, XII., p. 104.

sure it is *true* that St. Peter *erred;* and those also may err, who call themselves St. Peter's successors, and they ought to be resisted when they 'walk not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel,' as understood and professed by the ancient Catholic Church."

"But you have not the faith of the Catholic Church."

"Yes, we have the Creeds of the Church; we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses in the administration of Baptism —the Apostles' Creed,—and we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses at the Holy Communion,—the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan Creed,—and we have carried our moderation toward the Church of Rome so far that we have retained the 'filio-que' in the latter, believing as we do that it is a true assertion, although it was inserted by one of the Popes [8] in an irregular way."

"But you have altered the ancient offices of the Church."

"Have we? which do you mean?"

[8] Pope Nicolas I., who was Bishop of Rome A.D. 858 to 867.

"You have altered the *Te Deum;* and I will show you where you have done it."

He went into the Sacristy, and brought out a Service-book, where he pointed to the verse in the Te Deum, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non abhorruisti Virginis uterum."

"Pardon me, we have not made any alteration there," and I repeated the words as they stand in the English Liturgy; "we recite those words in our Churches every day."

Our *American* Brethren *have altered* that verse in *their* liturgy, and we may hence take occasion to observe that *alterations of ancient formularies*, which have been received in the Church for many generations, are very dangerous, and furnish occasion of reproach to our brethren of the Church of Rome, who are always on the alert to take advantage of them, and to denounce those who alter ancient offices, as innovators and schismatics.

This may also serve as a warning to some among us who would tamper with our English Book of Common Prayer, and perhaps rob us of some of those formularies by means of which

we communicate with ancient Christendom. If (as some of our friends suppose) we were to part with the Athanasian Creed (as the American Church has unhappily done), we should expose ourselves to censure from our enemies, and give a triumph to Popery;

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ."

My young friend seemed a little disconcerted, and I tried to comfort him with the assurance that there were very many things in which we were entirely of one mind; and in this Church of S. Ambrose I could solemnly make the following assurance: "We receive the same Scriptures as S. Ambrose did; we profess the same faith, in the same Creeds, as S. Ambrose and S. Augustine did, and as all the greatest Fathers of the ancient Western Church did; and if we are not agreed in some points with the *present* Church of Rome, it is because she has departed in these respects from that ancient Faith, which S. Ambrose and S. Augustine held and taught; and because we know from the voice of God Himself in Holy Scripture that 'if any man, or

even an angel from heaven preach to us any thing *beside*[9] what was preached' by the Apostles, and was received by the Apostolic Churches, 'he is to be Anathema.'"

[9] παρὰ, Gal. i. 8, 9.

CHAPTER VI.

MILAN (*continued*).

May 24*th*.—I called with an Italian friend on a distinguished person, formerly a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and now a Senator of Italy, and a Judge, who has written many valuable works on the present condition of Italy, especially with regard to the See of Rome. Like almost all the letterati of Italy at the present day, he is very eager for the abolition of the Pope's *temporal* power. He is well versed in the history of the Papacy, and —what is more remarkable in an Italian layman—well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which he quoted in the words of the Vulgate with readiness and precision. "Is the Bishop of Rome necessary to the Church?" he said. "If so, what becomes of the Church, when the Papal See is void? Does she cease

to exist? Where then is Christ's promise to her? He did not constitute any *spiritual supremacy* in His Church. "Let then the orders of the Church be reduced to their primitive simplicity, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. As for the temporal power of Rome, 'the gift of Constantine' (as it is called) and of Charlemagne, that has been the bane of Christendom. Wonderful retribution!" he exclaimed, "Rome deprived Kings—your King John, for instance—of their dominions, on the plea of religion; and now God is raising up Kings to deprive her of her temporal power, and to 'render to her double for her sins.' He is bringing upon her the consequences of the principles and practices of her Hildebrands, her Innocent the Thirds, and her Boniface the Eighths. But remember, I do not confound the '*Chiesa* di Roma' with the '*Curia* di Roma.' I abhor the court of Rome, but I love much that is in the Church of Rome: I revere the Pope as a Bishop, but owe him no allegiance as a King. We must go back to the condition of the Church as displayed to us in Holy Scripture. Do not suppose, however," said he, "that I would

leave the Bible to be interpreted and tampered with by every man as he likes. No. I reject the 'senso privato,' and I accept the 'Chiesa vera primitiva' as the Interpreter of Scripture. But what," added he, "is the *Chiesa? Not* the Pope, not the Bishops and Priests alone, but the whole body of the faithful associated with them. But the misfortune is," he said, "that the Laity do not concern themselves much with these things. The Government allows the People to imagine, that the Pope and his Bishops are the only persons who care a whit for Religion and the Church; and thus they give a great advantage to the Papacy. When I was in Parliament, I conjured Cavour to encourage pious, learned, and loyal Priests; but he let matters take their own course, and allowed Religion and the Church to shift for themselves. I told Cavour that his celebrated maxim 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' which many admired as a fine saying, is a 'spropositо,' and would one day be found to be so. Take, for example, the claim of the Church of Rome to summon all Bishops to Rome. Is she to be *free* to do this at whatever time, and for whatever cause, she pleases to do so? I

so, then the Bishops of Italy are *not subjects* of the *King* of Italy, but are vassals of the Pope —they are slaves of a foreign Potentate, hostile to the King. And thus the King of Italy himself is a subject of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope will crush him if he can. But do not persecute the Church, I said to Cavour, do not persecute any one; encourage her to do her duty, and let her be free to do her duty, and help her to do all the good in her power."

"Yes," added the friend who had accompanied me; "and it is much to be regretted that the municipality of Milan did not engage the services of the loyal and religious Parish Priests in the primary Schools of the city, but placed those schools under the control of masters, who will teach them liberalism, and lead them on to democracy."

"There is a great deal now said and written in Italy in behalf of 'Italia unita,' but what is still more necessary," said I, "is 'Chiesa unita.'" "Yes," said the Senator, "that is true; and you may depend upon it, that if we could get rid of the Pope's temporal power, we

should have gained a great step to the union of the Church."

I was much struck by the fervid eloquence with which he spoke, and could not but think that if Italy had many laymen like him in piety, learning, and vigour, she would, with the divine blessing, be enabled to recover her place among the nations of the earth.

My companion walked with me to the Cathedral, and as we stood before the façade of that magnificent building, he paused and said, "I have been in almost all parts of Italy, and I believe that the people of Lombardy are, on the whole, the most religious of all its inhabitants. I have observed," he added, "that the nearer you come to Rome, the further you seem to be from religion. If you wish to see the religion of Milan in its genuine character, get up early in the morning, and go to the churches then, or go to them in the evening, at about half-past seven o'clock at this season, and you will find them filled with the *working classes*. As for the upper ranks, it is true that they are for the most part indifferent to religion. When the

Austrians were in power here, many of the upper class *professed* to be religious, because it suited their interests; it was necessary to go to mass, &c., in order to obtain any civil employment under Government, but this was an hypocritical pretence, and now they have thrown off the mask."

I went accordingly at half-past seven P.M. to the Church of S. Fedele. There was a large Congregation of common people: very few young men. The service was the "Rosarium B. V. M." The responses full and general, as usual in this office. Would that it were more scriptural and more spiritual!

May 25th, Sunday.—Festival of Saint Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), in the Roman Breviary, where he is eulogized (as was before noticed) because he dethroned the Emperor of Germany, Henry IV., and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. How deeply the policy of Hildebrand has sunk into the heart of Italy! It is living, in its practical results, at this day.

My friend, the Senator, called at an early hour of the morning, and renewed his conversation on the temporal and spiritual power of

the Papacy. "We have had great men," said he, "in Italy, who have written well on the measures to be adopted by us for restraining the spiritual and temporal usurpations of the Papacy. There was Antonio Rosmini, who published some excellent works on this subject[1]. But he was timid (*pauroso*), and made an humble submission to the Pope. There was Vincenzo Gioberti[2] also, who has left some very valuable suggestions in his *opere postume*, which you ought to read: they contain a plan of a reformation for Italy. And there are some excellent remarks in the brochure of Mamiani (Rinascenza Cattolica). By the

[1] His "Le cinque Piaghe di Roma" is one of the most remarkable works of modern days, in this respect; it was condemned by the "Congregation of the Index" at Rome: more will be said of it in another place; see chap. xii.

[2] Gioberti was excommunicated, and several of his books were condemned by the Roman "Congregazione dell' Indice." Gioberti, who was a Priest, put forth in his celebrated work, "Il Primato civile degli Italiani," the theory of an Italian confederacy with the Pope at its head as President, and the King of Sardinia as its military chief; he afterwards became President of the Council at Turin in December, 1848, but his administration was as brief as it was unsuccessful.

way, he has made some observations on the applicability of the prophecies of Scripture to the present time. But, as I said before, some of the present rulers of Italy do not seem sufficiently to remember the declarations of Almighty God in Scripture,—'By Me kings reign,' &c., 'Righteousness exalteth a Nation,'—'Per Me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt.' 'Per Me potentes imperant, et potentes decernunt justitiam [3].' 'Justitia elevat gentem, miseros autem facit populos peccatum [4].'" They do not seem to remember, that they cannot counteract Popery except by Christianity.

My friend had been well acquainted with Mezzofanti, whom I had seen at Bologna and Rome in 1831, 1832: he bore testimony to the great modesty as well as to the wonderful gifts of that extraordinary man, who spoke thirty-two languages,—that is, ten more than were spoken by Mithridates. "I have, by the favour of God, a talent for languages," Mezzofanti used to say, but "non sono dotto, non conosco che parole." My friend said that

[3] Prov. viii. 15. He quoted from the Vulgate.

[4] Prov. xiv. 34.

he had conversed with Mezzofanti in two patois of Sardinia, and found him versed in both. I mentioned the saying of the late Francis Hare concerning Mezzofanti, that he had a larger bunch of keys in his hand than any man that ever lived, but that he never unlocked any thing with them: his vast knowledge of language was never applied to any scientific or literary purpose. Lord Byron said that he was a walking Polyglot, and ought to have lived at the time of Babel, and to have served as interpreter; certainly it would have been a noble and a holy use of his marvellous gift, if it could have been employed in bringing the discordant tribes of earth, or even of Europe, to a common consent in the great truths of the Gospel. The Rationalists of modern days have attempted to explain away the miracle which the Church celebrates at Pentecost, the gift of tongues. The extraordinary talents which Almighty God still bestows now and then on individuals,—such as Mezzofanti in Italy, (and may we not add the name of one of our own Bishops in the Pacific, Bishop Patteson?) may serve to remind us of His divine power in this respect,

and to convince the incredulous, that if a worthy purpose was to be gained thereby, such as the manifestation of the power and love of the Holy Ghost in publishing the *one Gospel* to *all* Nations in their own tongues by the Apostles of Christ, and in counteracting the evils of Babel by the blessings of Sion, surely the bestowal of the Gift of Tongues on the disciples at Pentecost was in perfect accordance with the divine attributes.

Went to the English chapel in Vicolo di S. Giovanni alla *conca*, one of the oldest Churches of Milan; its existence may be traced in Manuscripts of the eighth century: it is called "alla *conca*[5]," from the cauldron of boiling oil into which St. John the Evangelist is said to have been put by the order of the Emperor Domitian—to which S. Ambrose refers in his hymn for St. John's Day;—St. John is represented on the façade of the Church as standing in a *conca*. The English Chapel is part of an old disused Church given to the English congregation by Victor Em-

[5] Inni Sinceri, p. 101, where is an engraving of the bas-relief on the façade of this Church.

manuel at the request of the English ambassador, Sir James Hudson. It is well fitted up, and the Service was well celebrated, with excellent singing. The beauty of the English Liturgy is perhaps most felt in a foreign land. If the people of England were deprived of the Church Service for a year, how much would they value it!

There is little evidence of any religious rest on the Lord's Day in the streets of Milan. Is not this secularization of the Christian Sunday due to the erroneous teaching of the Church of Rome, which has altogether lost sight of the *scriptural* authority for the sanctification of the Lord's Day? In a popular Catechism, now in the thirteenth edition, for the use of the "Scuole Pie," printed at Florence in 1861, and authorized by the Archbishop, the *Fourth* Commandment is explained to oblige the Christian to observe the "*festivals* of the *Church*," pp. 15, 17, but not a word is said concerning the *Lord's Day*.

The same Catechism omits the *Second* Commandment altogether, nor does it give any exposition of it in explaining the *first* Com-

mandment. In both these respects, this popular Catechism is far worse than the *Trent* Catechism; and is one evidence among many that the *popular* theology and *popular* practice of Rome are lower than the teaching of her Schools.

Here also is a striking evidence of the evil effects produced by the neglect of Holy Scripture on the part of the Clergy, and by their denial of it to the people. If the Bible were known by the Clergy and the People, these perversions of God's Law could never have been tolerated.

At half-past two P.M., went to the Cathedral. The north and south aisles of its interior were parted off from the nave with purple stuff curtains; in the aisles, behind the curtains, were classes for boys and men on the south side, and for girls and women on the north. The boys were learning to read and write, till a quarter to three; they were standing or sitting in groups, with small ink-bottles and copy-books,—very little order or method, and not a little noise; they would have made a poor figure in the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. At a quarter

to three the bell rang, and they all knelt down for prayer, and the Clergy commenced instruction in the Catechism, with boys and girls respectively in the south and north aisles of the Cathedral; this was a more orderly proceeding. I attended the classes of *men*, which were at the east end of the south aisle: very interesting; at the entrance was suspended a board with the words "Pax Vobis," and "Humilitas," S. Carlo's motto. These Catechetical Schools were instituted by him; and similar Schools were established by him in other parts of the Diocese. He had a considerable share in framing the celebrated Trent Catechism, which was composed by four theologians selected and encouraged by him, and was completed in December, 1564—as he states in a letter to Cardinal Hosius—and was printed at Rome in the Pontificate of Pius V., in 1566. S. Carlo had learnt the importance of catechizing from the Reformers, especially from Luther and Melanchthon; and the good which has been done by catechizing in the Church of Rome at Milan and in Lombardy generally, is in no small degree a fruit of the Reformation. Our Romanist brethren seem

to be little aware how much they owe to the Reformers, whom they vehemently denounce and abhor. Ought they not to thank them for their Trent Catechism, and for vernacular Bibles — and vernacular prayers — wherever they have any: and even for much that is good in the disciplinarian reforms of the Council of Trent?

In a space of about eighty feet square were four classes of men, each arranged in a quadrangle with four benches, a Priest for each: and the men were sitting, some by his side, and others facing him, others on the benches to his right hand and to his left. In one of these classes were as many as 300 men. The Priest was addressing them in a clear voice, and with lively action,—no questions. One of these four Priests was discoursing to his class on the sin of exposing oneself to temptation. The second was going through the Creed, and giving a short explanation of each article: the third was speaking on the forgiveness of injuries; the fourth, on the omnipresence of God. All that I heard was excellent; and this kind of familiar, plain, personal, and practical addresses to groups of persons in small numbers

—all of whom could hear and see—seems to be better adapted to instruct the people than what we call "*sermons for the masses.*" Most of the men were of the middle class, and were grave, serious, sedate, and attentive. This was one of the most edifying sights of the kind that I have ever had the good fortune to see in a continental Church.

It is to be regretted that the impression produced by this interesting sight should be at all impaired by associations of a different character. How much more appropriate a monument of a Christian Bishop is this Catechetical School than the subterranean Tomb where the body of S. Charles Borromeo is preserved, in a shrine of gold and silver! It is dressed up in pontifical robes, enriched with sparkling diamonds, and with the head reposing on a gilded cushion! Melancholy spectacle! in which the brilliant splendour of earthly pomp contrasts ill with the solemn realities of weakness and mortality, and with his own motto, "Humilitas."

S. Charles Borromeo was nephew of Pope Pius IV.; he died Nov. 4, 1584, aged 46 years, and was canonized by Paul V., in 1610: but

his canonization cost his family and friends so large a sum of money that they were deterred from attempting to obtain a similar honour for his scarcely less celebrated cousin, Cardinal Frederick Borromeo; who has been commended to the affectionate reverence of posterity by the pen of Manzoni in his *I promessi sposi*—a tribute surely far more congenial to the mind of a saintly person, than the venal apotheosis of a Roman Canonization [6].

A person can hardly obtain a place now in the Roman Calendar, unless he belongs to a rich family, or to some monastic order who will pay the expenses of his sanctification, as the Franciscans and Jesuits are now doing for the Japanese Martyrs at Rome. St. Paul and St. Peter would not have much prospect of being canonized, unless some religious order would be kind enough to undertake their cause, and defray the cost of their canonization.

I observed some other objects in the Duomo which disturb the religious solemnity of this noble Minster, and detract from the spiritual edification of its services. What must a rea-

[6] See below, chap. xix.

sonable and reflecting worshipper think of the honesty and veracity of those who tell him, by an inscription engraved in large letters at the east end of this Cathedral, that this "augustissima Basilica" contains the following relics?—

"A part of our Lord's cradle, and swaddling clothes.

"*Item.* A part of the towel with which He wiped His Disciples' feet.

"*Item.* A part of the pillar at which He was bound and scourged; four thorns of His Crown; part of the reed with which He was struck; part of the wood of the Cross; one of the nails; part of the Soldier's spear; part of the sponge.

"*Item.* Two teeth of Elisha.

"*Item.* A bit of Moses' rod, &c.

"*Item.*——"

But I refrain,—such pious frauds as these must mar the effect of the teaching of a Church, and shake men's confidence in her. Fortunately the inscription is in Latin.

Let us hope that the time is not far distant, when the Church of Milan may clear herself from such superstitions, deceits, and corrup-

tions as these, and may dispense the wholesome food of the Gospel to the people, in this magnificent Minster; and that the Catechetical School of S. Charles Borromeo at Milan may vie in Christian rivalry and religious emulation with that of St. Mark at Alexandria.

CHAPTER VII.

MILAN TO PAVIA AND GENOA.

Monday, May 26th.—Left Milan for Pavia and Genoa. The Churches of Pavia are very interesting, especially the Cathedral, and the Church of S. Michael. There is a sombre, severe, and stern aspect in these Churches, which, with their fabrics still unfinished, seem to connect the spectator of the present day with centuries long gone by.

The Cathedral contains a beautiful specimen of fourteenth century work, commenced in A.D. 1362, as Cicognara assures us[1], the altar-tomb of S. Augustine under a canopy, adorned with more than 200 figures: some of the guide-books speak of this tomb as containing the remains of the great African Bishop; but it is, I

[1] Storia di Scultura, iii. 292.

believe, only a cenotaph. However, it is very interesting, as an evidence of the veneration in which the memory of S. Augustine was held in the middle ages: and it is well that the great African Father should be thus honoured in Lombardy, where he spent some of the most eventful years of his life; and that now, when Hippo is in ruins, and there are scarcely any remains of the African Churches, their greatest Bishop and Doctor should be venerated in a Cathedral of Italy, which owes to him so much of its theological learning.

Besides, although the remains of S. Augustine are not in this monument, yet there is good reason to believe that they are now at Pavia. S. Augustine died at Hippo, in Africa, Aug. 28, A.D. 430, aged seventy-six years, when that city was besieged by the Vandals.

His body was buried at St. Stephen's Church at Hippo; and it was carried thence to Sardinia when Africa was overrun by Vandals and Visigoths, and the orthodox Bishops were banished by them. Some place that translation in A.D. 484; others assign a later date to it.

In A.D. 710, Luitprand, King of Lombardy, recovered the remains of the great African Bishop from the hands of the Saracens, who were then masters of Sardinia, and brought them to Pavia.

In A.D. 796, Charlemagne commissioned Oldrad, Archbishop of Milan, to examine the records of these translations of the remains; and the facts now stated are grounded on the Archbishop's report.

In the year 1695, Oct. 1, some repairs were made in the crypt of the Church of St. Peter "in cœlo aureo" at Pavia, where the remains were believed to be; and a silver chest was found there with an inscription, it is said, in Gothic characters, of the word AGOSTINO.

An account is given of this discovery by Father Montfaucon, in his Diarium Italicum, who visited Pavia at that time (p. 26). Mabillon says (Diar. Ital. p. 221), that, when he was here, it was generally believed that the body was beneath the altar of St. Peter's Church.

Tillemont, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, seems to incline to the opinion that its place

cannot be clearly determined. Vasari[2] appears to be disposed to believe the story that the beautiful marble monument which once stood at the high altar of St. Peter's, Pavia, actually contained the body of S. Augustine.

We went from Pavia to the Certosa, a sumptuous Monastery—one of the most splendid in the world—which is due to the remorse of John Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, for the murder of his uncle and father-in-law and family — whom he poisoned. How many of the noblest buildings owe their origin to the most heinous sins! It contains his monument, but it also is a cenotaph.

Galeazzo died in 1402, and was buried in the cathedral of Milan; but his body was afterwards removed; and in 1562, when this monument was finished,—it had been begun in 1490,—his body could not be found.

We drove under a frescoed gateway, and crossed a courtyard, and entered the nave. Vespers were going on; the effect of hearing

[2] Vita di Girolamo, iii. p. 30.

beautiful music, in a large magnificent building, without seeing any living creature, is very solemn and impressive. It seems as if the sounds come from the spiritual world. After the vespers saw the Superior—he alone is allowed to converse: other members of the order, in their light-coloured dress of serge, were moving silently about the Church, like shadowy figures on a wall. The Carthusian rule is very strict. They never touch animal food: "neppure ammalati." I went into the two cloistral quadrangles; the lesser contains a beautiful garden rich in flowers; and the walls are adorned with graceful bas-reliefs in terra cotta, representing scriptural subjects. The larger cloister enclosed a field of corn: the views of the noble Monastery from these courts are very picturesque. Each of the Monks has a separate abode which opens into the garden: and there is a little window-like hatch by which his food is introduced. No woman is allowed to enter the cloister. I gathered a sprig of heartsease from the garden, to console the ladies of our party for their exclusion. The monks, with all their restrictions, cannot exclude nature, and natural

affection. These flowers themselves are witnesses to that truth:—

"Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

And are they to have heartsease and polyanthuses in their garden, and to know nothing of the beautiful colours and fragrant perfume of the sweet flowers of Christian graces in holy women? Strange contradiction!

The recluses have no communication with one another, and never see one another except at the hours of Divine Service, and at rare intervals. In seems as if the rule of S. Bruno had been dictated by his impressions on seeing his friend and companion, Raymond, suddenly snatched away at a social meeting, and then laid out in a coffin on a bier by torchlight, as dead, in a chapel hung with black, and then suddenly rising out of the coffin, and exclaiming, "Justo judicio Dei appellatus sum, justo judicio Dei judicatus sum," and then falling back dead. From that day S. Bruno renounced the world, and dedicated himself to the monastic life.

According to the original rule of S. Bruno (who died A.D. 1101) every cell was to be fur-

nished with a stock of parchment, pens, ink, and colours, and every monk was obliged to spend a certain time in transcribing or illuminating MSS. How much of our present knowledge is due to the patient industry of these Carthusian brethren! The invention of printing has robbed them of a great part of their occupation, but it has profited much by their labours. There is a large library in the monastery.

In the fields between the Certosa and Pavia, women were busy haymaking. Costume of the women and girls, striped lilac petticoats, white jackets, and large straw hats.

We passed through Alessandria, where we halted for some time, and arrived at Genoa at ten P.M.—Hôtel de France—very good.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENOA.

Genoa, Tuesday, May 27.—Walked along the walls and ramparts of S. Chiara,—glorious view of hills, city, gardens, and sea,—to Santa Maria di Carignano: called on the celebrated writer and preacher, formerly a Priest of the Church of Rome, Dr. Luigi De Sanctis. His *Almanacco* had a sale of 80,000 copies last year: he has published a Letter to the Pope; and a tract on Clerical Celibacy (1862), both of which he gave me.

The former,—the "Lettera a Pio IX.,"—was written in 1849 (March 12), from "a Roman exile to a Roman exile." De Sanctis had been a Professor of Theology and a Parish Priest at Rome, and he had left it and become a "Ministro del S. Vangelo," and Pius IX. had been driven from Rome to Gaëta. The letter bears testimony to the private virtues of the

Pope, but expresses the writer's conviction that the Divine Judgments are hanging over the Papacy for its sins.

"Meditate, O holy Father," says the writer to the Pope[1], "on the dread transactions of the Great Day, when the Divine Judge will demand of thee an account of thy stewardship (Luke xvi. 2), and when He will say, I commanded men to 'search the Scriptures' (John v. 39); why then didst thou forbid them to do so, in My name? I commanded them to worship God in spirit and in truth (John iv. 24); why then didst thou substitute a material and superstitious ritual in the place of the pure worship of the one true God? I taught them that there is but 'One Mediator between God and men' (1 Tim. ii. 5); why didst thou disparage My mediation by adding to it that of the Angels and Saints of thy Calendar? I commanded them to worship the one true God, and Him only; why didst thou erect altars to Saints, and commandedst men to worship their images and relics? I bade them to observe the ten commandments (Matt. xix. 17); how

[1] Lettera a Pio IX., pp. 12, 13.

is it then that thou didst dare to cancel one of them? (Exod. xx. 4—6.) I said that My blood cleanseth from all sin (1 John i. 7), and that there is no condemnation to them that are in Me (Rom. viii. 1); wherefore then didst thou invent the pains of Purgatory for those who die in a state of grace? I said that My sacrifice was offered once for all, and could not be repeated (Heb. x. 1—18); why didst thou depreciate the infinite worth of My blood-shedding, by teaching that it must be repeated often every day?"

His treatise "on the Celibacy of the Clergy" has already appeared in several editions, but the edition of the present year is much more complete than any of the preceding. It is a masterly work, written with that clearness and vigour for which the Author is distinguished; and it has a special value, because the Author, who passed a considerable time at Rome as a theological teacher and a Parish Priest, had the best opportunities of observing the *practical working* of the law of enforced Celibacy on the lives of the Clergy, and of its consequent influence on the faith and practice of the people. Persons who may feel any doubts as

to the irreligious and antichristian character and effects of this law of Clerical Celibacy, which the Church of Rome enforces by the most solemn sanctions, especially by the Decrees of Trent[2], which she affirms to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, may be requested to examine the fourteenth chapter of this treatise from pp. 168 to 174. After a perusal of the details[3] there set down,—which are too revolting to be transcribed—concerning the present effects of enforced Clerical Celibacy, *at Rome herself*, which boasts to be "the Holy City," the "Mother and Mistress of Churches," they will probably need no other argument to convince them that the enactment of this law is very like a fulfilment of the prophecy of Scripture concerning the "lawless One" who "sets himself in the temple of God, as if he were God" (2 Thess. ii. 4); and that the Church which enforces such a law, in God's name, on His Ministers, cannot be the true Church of God, the holy Bride of Christ.

[2] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxiv. can. 9.

[3] "Chi è in Roma che non possa rammentare a *centinaia simili fatti* (and horrible they are) e nominare *le persone?*" p. 171.

This treatise is very important at the present time. Not long after my visit to Dr. De Sanctis, a Member of the Italian Parliament, Petruccelli, brought in a bill to enable the Clergy of Italy to marry. That bill has been supported by the organ of the reforming portion of the Clergy of Italy, the *Colonna di Fuoco*[4], which says, "We cannot deny the existence of this plague of moral degradation in the Clergy; the Celibacy of the Clergy is to be placed in the same category as the temporal power of the Pope."

This is true; it was in order to detach the Clergy from the ties of Family and of Country, and to make them members of the *Papal* Family, and subjects of the *Papal* Monarchy, that Pope Gregory VII. enforced that anti-social and anti-christian enactment,—by which he defied the divine declaration that "Marriage is honourable in all" (Heb. xiii. 4), and incurred the divine denunciation on those who "forbid to marry" (1 Tim. iv. 1); which is called "a doctrine of devils." And the carnal end which he had in view,—that of promoting the temporal aggrandizement, and of gratifying

[4] For July 25, 1862.

the worldly pride and ambition of him who calls himself the Vicar of Christ, is an aggravation of the guilt which is inherent in the law itself.

The bill of Petruccelli has also been discussed by Padre Passaglia, in his journal[5], who is less disposed to approve it; but his objection seems to lie rather against the form in which the question is brought forward, than against the discussion of the question itself. Passaglia is of opinion that this is a matter which ought to be referred to the Spiritualty; that it is a fit subject for consideration in the Synods of the Church; that the initiative ought to be there; and that when the Spiritualty has deliberated upon it, and has declared the result of its deliberations, then would be the time for the Civil Power to intervene. The Courts of France have decided that there is no *civil* law in that country which hinders the marriage of the Clergy . . . . But to return to De Sanctis.

He does not seem to have much hope of religious reformation from *within* the Church of Rome: and it was in despair of any such im-

[5] The Mediatore, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

provement on her part that he renounced communion with her. "If I had been a Priest in the Church of *England*," he said, "I would not have quitted *her*. I know the evils of division; and it was by compulsion that I left the Church of Rome. She enforces sinful terms of Communion, and renders communion with her impossible: the sin of schism lies at her door."

It seems to be matter of regret that so able, learned, and devout a person should be so isolated as he appears to be. He has a congregation and a daily evening service in a "Chiesa Evangelica Italiana;"—no Liturgy: some ex-priests come to him regularly for instruction.

"I fear," said he, "that the true Church in Italy will be but a 'piccolo gregge.'"

But might it not be larger, if there was a well-considered systematic effort to *preserve* what is good and ancient in the Roman Church, and to clear it from corruptions, errors, and innovations? And are there not many in the Church of Rome herself who are even now engaged,—quietly it may be and patiently, but not less steadily and surely,—in

this holy work? I believe that there are: and much may be done by the members of the English, American, and Colonial Churches, to promote this design. Of this I am fully convinced, that the Italian People will never accept a cold, bare, negative Protestantism. The temperament of the whole Italian Nation from Turin to Tarentum revolts against it. There has been a series of articles in the "*Colonna di Fuoco*," the organ of the *reforming* Clergy in Italy, with this significant title, "Il Protestante non è Italiano;" and this is perfectly true, in the *negative* sense of the word *Protestant.* The Italians may remain Roman Catholics; they may become secularists, scoffers, and libertines; or they may reform their own Church by preserving what is grand and sublime in her Ritual and Liturgy, and what is Scriptural, Catholic, and primitive in her Doctrine; and restoring her Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline to the standard of the best and purest ages of Christendom. And much depends on the wisdom of the rulers and counsellors of Italy during the next few years for the determination of the question,—which of these three courses will be pursued?

One of the most painful symptoms of the dangers of the present times in Italy is in the number of *Caricatures* which meet the eye in the streets, where the most sacred objects of religion are exposed to ridicule. There is but one step between superstition and buffoonery. The production and display of such profane ribaldry in the shop-windows, and on the walls of the streets, without let or hindrance, show that there must be a great deal of deep-rooted Indifference, if not of Infidelity, in the hearts of the people.

Genoa seems to be divided into two parties. On one side are the Clergy, opposed to religious reform and intellectual improvement, and with them are the ancient Nobility, devoted to the Papacy; many of them very pious and charitable, especially the ladies of rank. When the Cholera raged in Genoa, and the Matron of one of the greatest of the Hospitals quitted her post in alarm, her place was taken by one of the Nobles of Genoa and his wife, who discharged its duties for some time. On the other side are the commercial and maritime classes, the Mazzinians and republicans. Each party is acting

and reacting upon the other, each is exasperating the other, and driving it into extremes.

The instruction in the Schools is excellent here, especially the primary Schools, which are very numerous in this and other places in Piedmont. The progress made in Piedmont, compared with other parts of Italy, in primary instruction, is very striking. In the Neapolitan Provinces, with a population of seven millions, there are only 2500 Schoolmasters, whereas in the Kingdom of Sardinia (to adopt its former name), with a population of only four millions, there are 7150 Schoolmasters.

The relative statistics of the Provinces of Italy are as follows, according to the last Italian authorities:—

	Popolazione.	Maestri.
" Le provincie Napoletane	7,060,618	2,590
Sicilia	2,223,476	740
Marche ed Umbria . . .	1,395,799	869
Toscana	1,815,243	739
Emilia	2,127,105	1,545
Lombardia	3,026,533	5,463
Provincie Sarde . . .	4,079,678	7,150
Totale	21,728,452	19,096[6] "

[6] From the Corrispondenza Franco-Italiana.

There are excellent Industrial Schools for the lower orders, and the people will soon be far in advance of their religious teachers. And then what will be the consequence?

"I well remember the time," said a resident in Genoa to me, "when every one went down on his knees in the streets before the host at the Festival of *Corpus Domini*. Now, few but the peasants and old women pay it such reverence: the young men smoke their cigars, and look on with indifference."

Genoa is one of the most interesting cities in Italy for old conventual buildings. You pass out of a busy street by one of those long narrow and rather steep thoroughfares, brilliant with gold, jewelry, silver filagree-work, and coral ornaments, and traversed by long trains of mules tied to one another's tails, and muzzled with corded nose-bags,—you enter a by-lane, and come into an old cloistered quadrangle, shaded with orange-trees, with an old monastic well in the centre, and you see walls engraved with venerable ancient inscriptions, or adorned with mediæval sculpture. Such are the cloistered retreats of S. Andrea and of the Church of S. Matteo, founded in the

twelfth century, with its interesting records of the Dorias. On the façade of the Church is an inscription which records a victory gained by the Genoese fleet under Lamba Doria over the Venetians under Dandolo, on Sept. 7, A.D. 1298, at Scarzola. The cloisters contain the remains of two colossal statues of Dorias—one, the celebrated Giannetto, who commanded in the great naval victory of Lepanto in 1571. Strange to say, these memorials of Genoese glory, which once stood in front of the ducal palace, were thrown down and mutilated by a revolutionary mob intoxicated with Gallican phrenzy, in 1797.

Another relic of mediæval history survives in the Dominican Convent, still tenanted by a few friars,—some learned and intelligent, —the last of their race: half of the convent is now used as a barrack. The ancient ruined Church of S. Agostino is also very interesting: I observed the date of A.D. 1293 on its façade. Not far from it you may light upon some remains of an old Roman wall and aqueduct, and on a fragment of an ancient column of cipollino in a courtyard of a monastery.

There is a peculiar charm in Italian towns,

—a charm perhaps derived from the influence of Grecian art, and especially from that of Athens. How noble and dignifying a sight did the *agora*, or market-place of Athens, present, with its grand and graceful works of Painting and Sculpture, raising the mind from secular business to higher aspirations! And in like manner, amid the bustle and din of trade and commerce in Italian cities, the eye is refreshed, ever and anon, with some beautiful works of art which lift the thoughts above the level of mere worldly traffic, and open out to the eye, as it were through a spiritual loophole, glimpses of the unseen world. In the most crowded thoroughfare of Genoa,—the Strada degli Orefici,—are two beautiful gleams of this kind; one is the lovely picture of the Holy Family, by Pellegrino Piola, over one of the shops; this picture belongs to the guild of the goldsmiths, and is much prized by them. Nearly opposite is a very graceful basso-rilievo of the Nativity. Such works as these, preserved in their original freshness for centuries (the picture is carefully covered with glass), and representing subjects of everlasting interest, and of calm

repose and unruffled quietness, exercise a spiritualizing and elevating influence on the ephemeral eagerness and hurry of the passers-by, and doubtless serve to remind some among them of the vanity of secular and earthly things, and of the peace and permanence of a better world.

What would the ancient Greek artists have given for the privilege of representing such glorious scenes as have been revealed to the imagination of Christian Art! Even now it is refreshing in the leisure-hours of Fancy and Meditation, to *imagine* a Presepe sculptured by the hand of Phidias or Praxiteles for the market-place of Athens.

The out-door life of Italy is one of its chief charms, especially at this season of the year; it suggests a reminiscence of picturesque descriptions of hours spent by her Classical Poets in ancient days at the side of streams and fountains, beneath the shade of fair trees, with fragrant flowering shrubs clustering around them, and with statues, single or in groups, disposed at intervals amid the trees. There is a quiet place at Genoa, to which we resorted frequently for rest and refreshment, and to

which we owe a tribute of gratitude, "the Concordia," as it is called: and it is pleasant to remember its sparkling fountain and its large oleanders with their profusion of red flowers, and the orange-trees in fruit, and the *nespoli*, and laurustinus, and pomegranates, and the willows hanging over the clear basin, and the marble tables near which we passed some happy hours during our sojourn in this noble city.

Wednesday evening, *May* 28.—Went to the Church alle Vigne—a large congregation assembled to hear a sermon. The Preacher was standing on a platform, on which a high crucifix was fixed at his left hand: behind him was an arm-chair: he had a fine sonorous voice, and used much action. He began with a violent invective against the rationalizing Philosophy of the day, and deplored the ravages it was making among the people, who imagined all the while that they were gaining some new illumination from it: "Povero popolo!" he exclaimed; for all the while "they are becoming more and more the dupes and victims of the Evil Spirit of delusion."

This was the proœmium to a Sermon on

Purgatory. It betrayed uneasiness, and was in an apologetic tone. He stated the *objections* made to the doctrine of Purgatory by some, especially the Protestants (of whom he said some very hard things), for instance, that the doctrine had been fabricated by the Clergy, "per motivo di lucro sacerdotale," and that it was not to be found in Scripture: he referred to the usual text, 2 Maccabees xii. 44. "But even *if* the doctrine is *not true*" (he said) "it can *do no harm;* but, on the contrary, is an exercise of Christian love for the departed." And then he exemplified the consolatory effects of the doctrine upon bereaved and mourning widows, and upon others who found quiet comfort in showing their love for their deceased friends, by praying, and procuring masses, &c., for the deliverance of their souls out of Purgatory; all which comfort, he said, would be taken from them if they were robbed of their belief in Purgatory.

Most true it is, that the Church of Rome has shown consummate skill in accommodating herself to the best feelings of human nature; and almost all her errors and corruptions in doctrine and practice derive their power from

the affections of men, and still more of women, when in sorrow and distress, either for sin committed, or for suffering endured;

"The way is smooth,
For Power that travels *with the human heart.*"

But surely the very consciousness of this truth ought also to suggest the Poet's lesson of self-control;—

"Ye holy men, so earnest in your care,
Of your own mighty instruments beware!"

How can it be said that the doctrine of Purgatory can "do no harm," if it tempts men to try "to be wise above what is written[7]," and to "teach for *doctrines* the commandments of men[8];" and if the sacrifice of the Mass for the dead, and eleemosynary indulgences doled forth for money by the Church, expose the Church to suspicion of covetousness and fraudulent traffic in spiritual things for filthy lucre[9]; and if it makes an invidious distinction between

[7] 1 Cor. iv. 6.

[8] Matt. xv. 9. Mark vii. 7.

[9] 1 Tim. vi. 5, where the Apostle speaks of "corrupt men who suppose that religion is a trade;" see also 2 Cor. ii. 17.

rich and poor[1], and if it tempts men to put off their repentance, while they are alive, and while the day of repentance lasts, and before the hour of death comes, "when no man can work:" and if it be at all true (as Bishop Bull observes) that a belief in Purgatory will, it is to be feared, be the cause of many men's exclusion from Paradise and from Heaven? Surely then the doctrine of Purgatory may be found to have done great harm.

The congregation was large, and consisted mostly of the middle and lower classes. The Preacher recommended them *not* to *argue* upon such questions as these, but to repose *implicit faith* in the Catholic Church, which could neither err nor deceive; but at the same time his sermon must have suggested to them several arguments against Purgatory, and must have also disclosed to them the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has many adver-

[1] These abuses of the doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences are freely pointed out by a learned Roman Catholic Writer, Dr. G. B. *Hirscher*, in his work (referred to above, p. 7) on the present state of the Church: his remarks on these points are very striking, and deserve careful consideration.

saries; and must, I conceive, have sent them away rather more disturbed than settled in their minds.

Confessions were going on in different parts of the Church during the Sermon.

On coming out of the Church, I observed on the Church-door an "avviso dell' opera di santa infanzia," a charitable association of persons for taking care of outcast unbaptized children: and a meeting was to be held of the Association to consider the names ("dâ imporsi a bambini infedeli") to be given to such children. A very excellent institution, especially for large towns. Would it not be better to imitate this example, rather than to agitate for the "repeal of the 29th Canon?"

Another "avviso" of a very different character was affixed to a neighbouring wall, i. e. an announcement of a new work, being "A Biography of Pope Sixtus V.," and an Essay "Sull' ipocrisia della Curia Romana." Such Advertisements as these are now very common in Italy. In the Churches you may hear sermons in favour of the Pope's temporal power, while the neighbouring walls are eloquent in their denunciations of it and of every thing that belongs to the Court of Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

A VILLAGE IN THE APENNINES.

May 29, *Genoa, Ascension Day.*—Almost all the shops shut. Churches full at an early hour of the morning; many sailors present. Service at the English Church, Casa Rocca, Via Asarotti; an excellent Sermon by the English Chaplain, the Rev. Alfred B. Strettell.

A friend presented me with a copy of an Italian work just published, "On the Reading of the Bible[1]." It is a Collection of the articles inserted in the Neapolitan journal just mentioned as the "organ of the reforming Clergy of Italy," the *Colonna di Fuoco*, in the months of February and March last. The writer says that "the ignorance of the Bible among Catholics is one of the principal causes of the absence of the virtue, knowledge, order, advancement, and liberty, which they would otherwise have;"

[1] Napoli, 1862. See also the "Secolarizzazione della Bibbia," by Monsignor Tiboni.

and the Author makes an appeal to the Government to introduce the reading of the Scriptures in the "national schools," in the mother tongue of the people. Having adduced a large number of passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers, in which the reading of the Bible is commended, the Author puts this question [2], "How can Romanism regard it as an evil to the faith that every Christian should read the Bible? How can Romanism forbid the reading of it? . . Ought we not rather to regard such a privation as an evil to the faith? . . According to Romanism, more evil than good is derived from reading the Bible [3]. And yet God commands all to read it!" This and much more of the same kind *is* found in this volume. There is nothing new in these *remarks themselves*, but there *is* something new in the fact that they are put forth by a *Roman Catholic Priest*, and are adopted by a Periodical, conducted by Roman Catholic Priests, and the exponent of the opinions of a large body among them.

The Vaudois have a large Church in the

[2] P. 33. [3] P. 36.

same street as that in which the English Chapel is at Genoa. Why should not Englishmen at home co-operate with their fellow-countrymen abroad in endeavouring to present the Services of the Church of England to the eyes of the people of Italy in such a manner as would commend them to their reverence and affection? The English Book of Common Prayer is the best exponent of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and if the Services of the Book of Common Prayer were celebrated in their fulness and integrity, and with that simple dignity and beauty which is the characteristic of the English Ritual, a salutary impression would be made on the mind of Italy, and a practical refutation would be given to the imputations of heresy, schism, and latitudinarianism which are studiously propagated by many of the Roman Catholic Bishops and Clergy in Italy against the Clergy and People of England; and some progress would also be made toward an *internal* Reformation of the Church of Italy,—the only kind of Reformation which can be prosperous and permanent.

Went to some beautiful gardens in the

Acqua Sola; broad walks, overshadowed with the thick foliage of old ilexes; a large basin of water with swans floating on it; carnations on the terrace, which commanded an extensive view of the city and adjacent country; and a little Paestum of roses beneath the terrace; a charming spot for such a summer day as this.

Went in the afternoon to a beautiful country Parish in the Apennines; it is situated in a glen above a mountain stream, overshadowed with chestnut-trees; delightful fresh air. Visited the small parsonage of the Parroco, close to the Church, with a lofty belfry seen from afar; and near it a little School, built of wood and straw. The Parroco dined with us. I had the pleasure of sitting opposite to him; a well-informed, intelligent man, of grave and serious aspect and demeanour. He expressed great regard and esteem for the Church of England, and an earnest desire for union with us. "And," said he, "when the temporal power of the Papacy is abolished, then the great hindrance to that union will be removed." He drew a lively picture of the future happiness of Christendom, when that consummation is attained; it would be, he thought,

like the beginning of a golden age of peace and felicity. He was acquainted with Mamiani, the Author of *Rinascenza Cattolica*, and had imbibed similar opinions. He was much interested in hearing of an effort made by the Lower House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, to open communication with the Clergy of Italy, who are craving for sympathy from England, especially those among them who are thought by the Court of Rome to be too eager for Reformation [4].

[4] The effort referred to was in the form of an Address from certain Members of the Lower House to the Upper, Feb. 28, 1861, as follows:—

"We, the undersigned members of the *Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury*, respectfully invite the attention of the Upper House to the opportunity now afforded by Divine Providence for the advancement of true religion *in Italy*.

"We regard with thankfulness the facilities offered at the present time for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in that country, and we rejoice to learn that many Italians have shown a desire to procure copies of the *English Book of Common Prayer in their own tongue*, and have expressed their approval of it.

"We are of opinion that the Church of England ought not to remain passive and silent at so important a juncture, and we earnestly pray that she may be enabled

To-day being Ascension Day, I took occasion to observe to this learned ecclesiastic, that the

by the Divine blessing to avail herself of those means which are now vouchsafed to her of promoting the cause of Christian truth and unity in a country to which she herself was indebted in the sixth century for many spiritual benefits.

"We, therefore, humbly submit to the consideration of your Grace and your Lordships whether it might not be expedient that a committee of this Convocation should be appointed with instructions to prepare the draught of a letter from the Bishops and Clergy of this Province representing to the *Clergy* and *Laity of Italy* the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which, under God's providence, *this Church and Realm have continued to derive for three centuries from the English Reformation, preserving, as it did, the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, and the Creeds of the Christian Church, and the three Orders of the Christian Ministry, while it purified them from novelties, errors, and corruptions.*

"We would also suggest that such a communication from this Synod might convey to the Clergy and People of Italy the assurance of our hearty sympathy and co-operation in all the efforts that they may make to *follow the example of England, reforming herself*, and to maintain those Scriptural and Catholic truths and ordinances which they have inherited from primitive Antiquity, and to clear them from those abuses by which in the course of ages they have been marred and blemished.

"We therefore humbly pray your Grace and your Lord-

offices in our Book of Common Prayer correspond in many respects to those in his Breviary. "We have the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel as you have for this festival—Ascension Day." "Yes," said he, "I also have made the 'confronto,'" and he began to quote from the Breviary the beginning of the Epistle for the Day from the Acts of the Apostles, "Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus, O Theophile," &c. &c., and it was a great pleasure to him, he said, "to observe the correspondence."

The English Prayer Book translated into *Italian* is very acceptable to many in Italy, and is doing great good. The "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" has rendered great service by its editions of the Book of Common Prayer in Italian, and by its liberal grants for the supply of copies of them in Italy; which are administered, I believe, through the Bishop of Gibraltar. There is now *another* work that still remains to be

ships to give the requisite directions for the appointment of a Committee, for the purpose of framing the draught of such a Letter, to be submitted to this Convocation for consideration at some early opportunity."

done, which would be of infinite service, especially in its influence on learned, intelligent, and Catholic-minded members of the Italian Episcopate and Priesthood; I mean the translation of the English Prayer Book into *Latin*. The Collects ought to be presented as nearly as may be in their *ancient Latin* dress, wherever they have been adopted from the old Latin Service-books; and the Epistles and Gospels, and other portions of Scripture, ought to be given in the *primitive*[5] *Latin Vulgate*, wherever that version is not at variance with the original. If this were done, the Italian Clergy would see at one glance how much *we* have in common *with themselves*, and they would rejoice to know that the Church of England has a Liturgy which contains so much material with which they are familiar by daily use. The "*Breviary*" is their Manual,—their daily companion,—and the correspondence of the English Prayer Book with the Latin Breviary in the structure and arrangement of the services seems to be

[5] I say *primitive*, because the original readings of the Vulgate have sometimes been tampered with in more recent editions.

a providential dispensation for the future union of Western Christendom.

If our Reformers had adopted the *Eastern* Calendar[6] and Liturgy, or if they had framed an entirely *new one*, there would *not* have been these points of contact, which now exist between us and other Western Churches; and which seem to suggest an earnest endeavour to enter into free and friendly communication with such learned and charitable members of the Italian Priesthood as this excellent Pastor, with whom it was my privilege to have some delightful, friendly, and fraternal intercourse, in this beautiful country Parish among the Apennines.

[6] As may be seen in Daniel's Codex Liturgicus, Tom. iv. pp. 212—278, ed. Lips. 1853. For example, the Greek Church has no season of Advent ("Annus Græcorum Ecclesiasticus non orditur ab tempore *Adventûs, quod prorsus ignorant*—"); and its cycle of Saints' Days and other Festivals is different in many respects from that of the Western Church.

CHAPTER X.

GENOA TO LEGHORN, PISA, AND FLORENCE.

LEFT Genoa at a quarter to twelve o'clock at night for Livorno (Leghorn) by steamer, with 250 Italian soldiers on board, who were going on to Naples and Sicily. Beautiful starlight night. Arrived at Leghorn at nine in the morning. Thence to Pisa.

It is in vain to attempt to describe the beauty of the group of buildings; the Cathedral (founded A.D. 1067); and the Baptistery (founded A.D. 1153); and the Leaning Tower (founded A.D. 1174); and the frescoes and monuments, and all the interesting reminiscences of the Campo Santo (founded A.D. 1188). The comparative isolation of these glorious buildings adds greatly to their effect; they are removed from the busy haunts of men; and stand almost in a monastic solitude, —a religious retirement and sacred hermitage

of their own. In this respect they resemble those beautiful groups of ancient Temples, such as may still be seen at Rhamnus in Attica, or at Girgenti in Sicily, which were designed, it would seem, to inspire religious meditation and devotion by their comparative seclusion and silence. The sacred groves, with which they were surrounded, encouraged this pensive feeling, and ministered a soothing influence to the weary spirit, jaded by the din of the city, and resorting to their peaceful shade for quiet thoughts and holy aspirations.

Sad it is, that the spiritual quietness of this sacred spot at Pisa should now be marred by civil and religious strife. In the *Prado*, or meadow, in which the Cathedral and Baptistery stand, preparations are being made for the erection of a temporary building in which Mass is to be celebrated on Sunday next, June 1, being the *National Anniversary of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy*. And why? Because the Cardinal Archbishop of Pisa will not allow the *Cathedral* to be used for that purpose. The Pope will not permit him to do so: and the Archbishop has sent a circular to all his Clergy, threatening them

with suspension, if they take any part in the National festival. So Altar is to be erected against Altar, and Priest to be set up against Priest, almost beneath the shade of the glorious Minster, and of the sublime Baptistery in which all the infant children of Pisa are admitted by the Sacrament of Baptism into one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Christ. And the celebration of the Union of the States of Italy under one King is to be made the occasion of a spiritual feud and of a national schism. And this is to be the case not only at Pisa, but also at Lucca and Florence, and other great cities of Italy. The mediæval feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines are now raging at the doors of the Cathedrals of Italy; and this conflict will be renewed year after year on the 1st of June, till one party or the other is silenced: for, as to agreement between them, while the claims of the Papacy are what they are,—and she boasts herself to be unchangeable,—this seems to be impossible. The People are exasperated by this anti-social, anti-national and anti-christian antagonism of the Papal Hierarchy. The Christian Scriptures command Bishops to

offer up "prayers for Kings and all in authority[1]," and condemn those who resist "the higher powers[2]" in any thing not contrary to the divine law. But the Pope, who professes to be the Vicegerent of God, sets himself in opposition to the Word of God, and commands the Archbishops and Bishops to punish those who obey that Word, which they are bound to preach. The consequence is that the Walls of the city of Pisa cry out against the Pope and the Hierarchy, "Abbasso il Papa-re," "Viva Italia unita," "Viva Roma Capitale d'Italia." Is it not true, that the Papacy is the cause of the schism which is now rending Italy asunder? Is it not true also, that the Papacy is the principal cause of the miserable disunion of Christendom!

Suspended to the wall in the cloisters of the "Campo Santo" at Pisa, are the long massive iron chains which once guarded the entrance of the Port of Pisa, and which were carried off in triumph some centuries ago by the rival Republic of Genoa, and have been now restored by "la generosa Genova," as an

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

[2] Rom. xiii. 1, 2: cp. Titus iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13.

inscription states, with an expression of hope that all the remembrances of former rivalries and feuds may be buried and forgotten in the *Unity of Italy.*

Some of the most pathetic records of the departed glories of Pisa are seen in the large rusty iron rings in the walls of its Palaces on the Lung-Arno, to which the noble galleys of the Pisan Patricians were moored; and from which they were unloosed when they went forth in gilded pomp, with streamers flying, down the Arno, perhaps to a crusade in Palestine, or to a battle at Lepanto, or to meet the rival fleets of Venice, Genoa, or Florence in the waters of the Mediterranean.

All these are passed away—and Pisa is now almost a city of the dead: it is itself a "Campo Santo" of departed heroism and glory.

The interior of the Campo Santo is filled with earth brought from Jerusalem in A.D. 1228 by fifty galleys of the Republic, when the Pisans were driven from Palestine by Saladin. It is now covered with a beautiful greensward; and we sat down upon it, enjoying the fresh air and the sight of lovely roses

in full bloom clustering and twining about a monumental pillar in it.

I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing the following lines suggested by this interesting spot:—

"Young, middle-aged, and old
From century on to century, must have known
The emotion—nay, more fitly were it said—
The blest tranquillity that sunk so deep
Into my spirit, when I paced, enclosed
In *Pisa's Campo Santo*, the smooth floor
Of its arcades, paved with sepulchral slabs,
And through each window's open fret-work looked
O'er the blank Area of sacred earth
Fetched from Mount Calvary, or haply delved
In precincts nearer to the Saviour's tomb,
By hands of men, humble as brave, who fought
For its deliv'rance—a capacious field
That to descendants of the dead it holds
And to all living mute memento breathes,
More touching far than aught which on the walls
Is pictured, or their epitaphs can speak,
Of the changed City's long-departed power,
Glory, and wealth, which, perilous as they are,
Here did not kill, but nourished, Piety.
And, high above that length of cloistral roof,
Peering in air and backed by azure sky,
To kindred contemplations ministers
The Baptistery's dome, and that which swells

From the Cathedral pile; and with the twain
Conjoined in prospect mutable or fixed
(As hurry on in eagerness the feet,
Or pause) the summit of the Leaning Tower.
Nor less remuneration waits on him
Who having left the Cemetery stands
In the Tower's shadow, of decline and fall
Admonished, not without some sense of fear,
Fear that soon vanishes before the sight
Of splendour unextinguished, pomp unscathed,
And beauty unimpaired. Grand in itself
And for itself, the assemblage, grand and fair
To view, and for the mind's consenting eye
A type of age in man, upon its front
Bearing the world-acknowledged evidence
Of past exploits, nor fondly after more
Struggling against the stream of destiny,
But with its peaceful majesty content.
Oh, what a spectacle at every turn
The place unfolds, from pavement skinned with moss,
Or grass-grown spaces, where the heaviest foot
Provokes no echoes, but must softly tread;
Where solitude with silence paired stops short
Of Desolation, and to Ruin's scythe
Decay submits not[3]!"

How beautiful is the road between Pisa and Florence, at this season of the year, when the

[3] "Wordsworth's Poems. Memorials of a Tour in Italy. Musings at Acquapendente," p. 271.

vines are in their full luxuriance of leaf, and the brooms, and mulberry-trees, and olives, diversify the scene with their foliage, and here and there the tall poplars and dark cypresses, with their spire-like forms, give almost an architectural charm to the scene: now and then the eye catches a glimpse of the river Arno in its low bed of reddish sand, and the valleys stand thick with golden crops of corn; and above them are the blue ridges of the Apennines studded with white villages.

CHAPTER XI.

FLORENCE.

Florence, Saturday, May 31st.—Called on an Ecclesiastical Dignitary, to whom I had a letter of introduction, who is connected with the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Florence, for the protection of the loyal priests against the oppressive and arbitrary despotism of the Roman Curia, which checks and punishes all religious patriotism on the part of the Priesthood, by means of the superior authority of the Bishops, who are bound by oaths of vassalage to the Roman See.

This "Società Ecclesiastica" of Florence was connected with another at Arezzo; but the deputy of the Bishop of that city (the Vicario Capitolare) has issued a circular to its members, in which he threatens them with "suspensio a divinis, ipso facto incurrenda," unless they detach themselves from it.

The Archbishop of Florence has condemned

the Florentine "Società" here, and has threatened with suspension all the Priests who belong to it. The aggregate body of these "Ecclesiastical Societies for mutual succour" has an Episcopal President and Head, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the person of Monsignor Michele Caputo, Bishop of Ariano, and "Cappellano Maggiore" to the King; but he stands almost alone, and nearly all his Episcopal brethren are opposed to these Societies[1]. The consequence is, that the Florentine "Società" has dwindled almost to nothing; it had once sixty members, and now has only twelve. All these have been suspended *a divinis* by the Archbishop; they are not allowed to say mass: and many of the loyal Clergy are now almost in a state of destitution. The few members of the Society, who still hang together, meet for the study of the Scriptures, and for mutual instruction and edification.

[1] Monsignor Caputo is now no longer living: he died at Naples on September 6th, 1862. The priest of the parish refused to administer to him the Holy Communion on his death-bed, unless he "renounced his errors:" to which the Bishop replied that he had nothing to retract, and he received the Viaticum from another Priest, Canonico Papalia.

I received from my friend a copy of the "Statuto fondamentale" of the Society, which was authorized by an Ordinance of the Government, signed by Baron Ricasoli, on October 8, 1860, of which he also gave me a copy, together with an address delivered by a distinguished Priest, Luigi Crescioli, at the first general meeting of the Society, on the 4th July, 1860.

My ecclesiastical friend, who is a grave and thoughtful person, very quiet and sedate in his manner, expressed himself with much sorrow for this state of things, but without any bitterness or rancour. He is fully persuaded that it is necessary for the Church in Italy to return to first principles ("tornare ai principii") of Christian discipline; and to examine carefully the teaching of Holy Scripture, and of the Primitive Church; and he showed an interest in the history of the Church of England. He had in his hand Massingberd's History of the Reformation, which he had been reading. He regretted the indifference of the Italian Government to the affairs of religion and the Church, and he did not see how the loyal and patriotic Clergy

could stand their ground against the almost overwhelming power of the Papacy and the Papal Episcopate. When Ricasoli was in office, the Government approved the "Società Ecclesiastica," but the present Administration gives it no effective support.

The fact seems to be, that the present Government is eager enough to restrain the encroachments and usurpations of the Papacy, but does not know how to raise up a solid edifice of constitutional Monarchy. It adopts now and then hard measures against the Bishops[2]; it brings some of them before the

[2] As a specimen of the feeling of the Government, and of its measures against the Episcopate, the Bill brought in by the Keeper of the Great Seal, Conforti, may be cited; in which are the following articles:—

"Art. 5. All Ordinaries (i. e. Archbishops and Bishops, &c.) of the Kingdom of Italy shall be bound to communicate copies of their *Pastorals*, *Charges*, &c. before publication, to the Minister of Justice; and such Pastorals *cannot be published before they are approved by the Keeper of the Great Seal.*

"Art. 6. All contravention of these orders will be punished by imprisonment or fine."

This Bill was brought into Parliament in July, 1862: but it was not passed, and Conforti has retired from the Ministry.

civil tribunals, and puts others into prison; it taxes Church property, and alienates the revenues of Monasteries and Convents. But it does not seem to have any well-devised plan or judicious system of Ecclesiastical Reformation; it is *destroying* a good deal, but it is not *building up* any thing; it is exasperating the Bishops, the Monastic Orders, the Ultramontane Clergy, the College of Cardinals, the Roman Congregations and Seminaries, and the Pope; but it is not conciliating any one; it is not encouraging any one; it is making no friends and adherents among the loyal and patriotic Clergy; it does indeed dole out a miserable pittance of alms to some of them; but it is giving them no moral support; it is not cherishing and encouraging their efforts, it is not raising up or bringing forward men of character, probity, integrity, and learning, who would give it wise counsel how to proceed in dealing with such a powerful and subtle antagonist as the Papacy, and who would show clearly to the Nation, by writing or otherwise, what the usurpations of the Papacy are, and what were the principles and usages of the *ancient Catholic Church.*

I have been reading the address of the priest

Crescioli, who was the Secretary, and was appointed to be the organ of the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Florence, at its first general Meeting; it draws a melancholy picture of the decay of the spiritual influence of the Clergy, and of the consequent spread of Irreligion and Immorality, and of the alienation of a large portion of the Italian Priesthood from the Italian Episcopate: the Author states his belief that there is little hope of amelioration from the Hierarchy. I transcribe the following paragraph, delivered (it will be observed) at Florence, at a meeting of Roman Catholic *Priests*;—

"Quindi la necessità di porre un argine *al rapido scadimento del Clero e delle sane credenze*, e di tornare l' uno e le altre in onore: al fine eziandio di scongiurare la orribil catastrofe, cui la società corre incontro inevitabilmente per la stessa cagione, la quale vie sempre più progredendo ne' suoi guasti, condurrebbe difilatamente alla totale anarchia delle idee e degli affetti, allo scatenamento delle più brutali passioni, al sovvertimento d' ogni ordine religioso, morale, politico e sociale.

" Quindi le istanze frequenti e dolorosamente inutili di uomini d' altissimo ingegno e di vasta e profonda dottrina e venerabili per la santità della vita.

" Quindi la desolante persuasione universale che in fatto di riforma, o di emenda, stolta cosa è sperare che *la iniziativa si parta dall' alto Clero.* Per mancanza della qual persuasione, e spinto invece da fiduciosità giovanile, osai per lettere tentar l' animo di Gregorio XVI e di Pio IX colla viva parola, e ne trassi certezza che quei sommi di ben altre e più gravi cure si stavano profondamente occupati."

Surely some of those persons who have been tempted to quit the Church of England for that of Rome, might have done well to ponder such avowals as these from the mouths of Roman Ecclesiastics.

One of the great charms of the towns of Italy at this season, is the profusion of flowers. At the corners of the streets are floral cornucopias, full of carnations, magnolias, Canterbury bells, and geraniums of the brightest hues, contrasted with pure white lilies. The gardens of some of the Palaces are now rich in orange-trees covered with fruit, large luxu-

riant catalpa-trees in full blossom, oleanders ten feet high, with pink and white flowers, magnolias, pomegranates, &c.

Saturday Evening.—Had a visit from an Ultramontane Priest, who has published several literary works. He frankly allowed that a good deal is taught in the Romish Schools and Colleges, in reference to the Church of England, which is known to be untrue; and that what is true is often concealed from the pupils. But he thought that a similar fault was also committed on our side, with regard to the Church of Rome. He therefore heartily welcomed every occasion of intercourse with members of the English Church.

His view of public affairs was not cheering. He feared that Italy would ere long be involved in civil war. The Government is obliged to levy very heavy taxes to support the immense military force which it now maintains, amounting to more than 300,000 men, which is far above the proper proportion for such a country as Italy. This produces discontent. "You must not suppose," he said, "that the people are in love with the new order of things, although you will see all

Florence illuminated to-morrow, and the national tricolor will be streaming from all the windows of the houses. You cannot judge of the people's hearts from these outward demonstrations. They are afraid to express their dissatisfaction."

"Few of the Clergy are on the side of the Government, and they who are, are not the most reputable. To give you a specimen—the other day, one of these 'loyal Clergy' was preaching at the Church of Santa Croce, in Florence, and said that the entrance of Garibaldi into Palermo was as glorious as that of our Blessed Lord into Jerusalem; and some of these liberal Clergy preach strange doctrines, as, for instance, that there is no such thing as a 'Christian Priesthood;' and that every one is a Priest to himself, &c. &c. The Italian Government is not a match for the Papacy; it has no fixed system of principles, as the Papacy has; it has no powers of cohesion and consolidation, and therefore I do not believe that the idea of an *united Italy* will ever be realized." He contrasted the profuse beneficence with which the adherents of the

Papacy had recently responded to the appeal for pecuniary help to the Pope, with the insignificant results of the subscription entered into for military aid to Garibaldi. "In the mean time, however, the cause of true religion is suffering by the conflict between the civil and spiritual power, and the result will be a triumph of infidelity and anarchy, to be followed, I suppose, by military despotism."

I asked whether the attack now made upon the Papacy might not be regarded in the light of a divine retribution for her presumptuous and tyrannical claims and usurpations?

He endeavoured to soften down these, and said that they were only to be imputed to the personal character of particular Popes, such as Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII.; and were no part of the *Papal System*. "But," said I, "are not these usurpations embodied in the Papal Canon Law[3]? are they not even consecrated by the Roman Breviary, and the Roman Pontifical? They are not only the usurpations of Popes, but of

[3] They may *all be found* in the latest edition of the Roman Canon Law; i.e. that of 1839, Leipsic, 2 vols. 4to.

the Papacy ; and the Papacy identifies herself with them in her official documents, and she enforces the maintenance of the principles of these usurpations by the solemn oaths which she imposes upon all the Bishops of the Roman Catholic world."

My friend sent me copies of the Lent Pastorals lately put forth by many Italian Bishops; and he specially commended that of the Bishop of Lucca, who, he said, stood high for his literary attainments. It has been severely criticized by Padre Passaglia, in his *Mediatore* (5th April, 1862). On the other side, Passaglia and the many thousand priests who are associated with him in his protest against the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, are denounced by the Archbishop of Spoleto, in his Quaresimal, in the most vehement language, of which the following is a specimen :—" Chi non sa oggimai che, *inchinando ipocritamente il Pontefice*, vuole strapparglisi dalla fronte l' augusta tiara, farne un suddito, maneggiarlo a talento, e sottoporne l' azione al loro arbitrio, e alla loro influenza ? E chi è finalmente che possa ignorare, che *a causa sì empia e diabolica*

tiene bordone una microscopica parte *di superbi e sciagurati ecclesiastici*, valendosi di quel carattere di cui furono insigniti dalla bontà di Dio, a decoro e gloria della sua Chiesa, per combatterla più efficacemente e prostrarla sul suolo avvilita, e coprirla di squallore?"

And yet we are sometimes assured that the Church of Rome is perfectly united; and she allures many to her communion by a promise of peace!

The same Archbishop exhorts the people of his Diocese to resort to the Blessed Virgin for aid, in these times of religious division; and he assures them that "the arm of Mary will lay prostrate the enemies of the Church."

These Pastorals are important documents as coming from the Bishops of Italy at a time which, as they all allow and affirm, is very critical for the Church of Rome. Indeed, the present juncture is the most eventful one for the Church of Italy, since the time of the Council of Trent. I have before me the Episcopal Charge of the Bishop of Guastalla, who says that "inasmuch as the Pope has

declared that the spiritual and temporal power of the Papacy are not to be separated, all efforts to separate them are schismatical." The Bishop of Montalcino condemns all the attempts of the religious reformers of Italy; and he also grounds his hopes of the final triumphs of the Papacy on the "intercession of the Blessed Virgin, who is reigning in heaven, clothed in light more brilliant than the sun, honoured by angels, venerated by an immense multitude of virtuous Italians, who commend themselves with confidence to her." Here also are the Charges of the Archbishops of Pisa and Florence, and the Bishops of Narni, and of Orvieto and Perugia, and Cefalù in Sicily. The language of all these Manifestos betokens much uneasiness; much alarm at the prospect of Reforms, or (as they call them) Revolutions in the Church; and implicit devotion to the Pope, both as a temporal and spiritual Ruler.

The Bishop of Cefalù supplies some particulars concerning the Indulgences given by the present Pope to encourage the erection and endowment of a Roman Catholic Church

in *London;* and states that 200,000 francs have been already raised for it, and informs his Clergy that he has been desired to give orders that Collections should be made for it in his Diocese.

What would the Pope say of a similar subscription, set on foot by English Bishops, for an English Church at Rome?

CHAPTER XII

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Sunday, June 1.—Went to the English Church, Via Maglio, at eleven A.M., and half-past three P.M.

The city was illuminated to-day, being the "Festa dello Statuto." The Piazza dell' Indipendenza was the centre of the gaiety. There was little creative invention in the arrangement of the lamps; no devices; not even any mottoes; not much enthusiasm or joy in the look of the people; indeed this is a time of anxiety and suspense. Tuscany has lost its ancient nationality; and the Kingdom of Italy is not yet constituted. It has no capital. It is a body without a head. In this state of uncertainty, Commerce and Trade suffer. No one can tell what will come next.

I went to the Duomo; only a small congregation there, even at ten in the morning.

The people are much vexed and annoyed, because the Archbishop, acting under orders from Rome (of May 18, 1861), will not allow the national Anniversary to be celebrated, or in any way recognized in the Cathedral. I was therefore surprised to see in the evening that the *exterior* of the cupola of the Cathedral was illuminated. On inquiring of one of the Canons of the Cathedral the reason of this discrepancy, I was informed by him that the *external* decorations, and the *material* repairs of the Cathedral, are under the management of a separate Corporation, distinct from that which has the control of the ritual of that church.

Here is a striking specimen of the conflict which is now rending this country in pieces. On this Sunday, June 1st, the festival of the King and the Nation, the interior of this noble Cathedral shows no sign of joy and thankfulness; it is possessed, as it were, with a deaf and dumb spirit; its Archbishop and Clergy will listen to no entreaties, and refuse to utter a single syllable of supplication for the Monarch and the People. But the exterior of the Cathedral is one blaze of light, and exults

in an ecstasy of joy. The greatest Church of Tuscany is a house divided against itself—a melancholy specimen and epitome of the state of Italy at this crisis; and an omen, it is to be feared, of coming sorrows.

Another unhappy demonstration of the same spirit of discord showed itself in the beautiful suburb of this magnificent city. The National Festival could not be celebrated in the Cathedral; the Bishop of Rome would not allow it. But the Civil Powers of Florence rightly deemed that a religious celebration of this Anniversary was a homage due to the Divine Arbiter of the destiny of Nations, and a public acknowledgment that the happiness of a State depends on His protection and blessing. They therefore gave directions for such a celebration in the *Cascine*, or suburban Park of the City; and it was performed there by a military Chaplain, who exposed himself thereby to censure and suspension from his Ecclesiastical Superior.

I afterwards heard that the Military Chaplains, who officiated in a similar ceremony at Pisa, at Lucca, and Leghorn, were threatened with suspension by their Bishops, and

that by some dexterous manœuvre of the Colonels of their regiments they were rescued from Ecclesiastical penalties.

The Bishop of Guastalla also has forbidden his Clergy to take part in the national festival, and placed his Cathedral under an interdict because he heard that the Chapter of the Cathedral intended to celebrate the Anniversary there. The Bishop's letter on the occasion to his Chapter and Clergy is such a remarkable document,—as an indication of the temper of the times,—that it deserves to be placed upon record:—

"*Modena*, 29 *Maggio*, 1862.

"Illustrissimi Signori.

"Veduto il pubblico avviso di codesto Municipio in data del 26 corrente dove si annunzia, che nella p. v. domenica, in occasione della festa nazionale si farà ancora una funzione religiosa nella nostra Cattedrale, a cui si presta, dicesi, spontaneo il Capitolo;

"Meravigliato che, dopo i nostri ordini, espressi della stessa Congregazione dei vescovi e regolari, si ardisca di venire ad una così

flagrante violazione delle leggi ecclesiastiche e a così oltraggioso disprezzo dell' autorità;

"Noi, tenendo fermo quanto abbiamo disposto, e riservandoci di procedere contro quegli ecclesiastici, cui sappiamo doversi in particolare ascrivere la promozione di questo scandalo, abbiamo decretato che *resti sull' atto interdetta quella chiesa di Guastalla, dove si farà* domenica prossima una straordinaria religiosa funzione, senza Nostro permesso, e in onta a quanto alle SS. VV. Ill^me^ è stato più volte comunicato.

"Esterniamo intanto alle SS. VV. la Nostra stima e considerazione.

"*All' originale sottoscritto*

"PIETRO *Vescovo di Guastalla.*"

The Vice-President of the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Florence, Canonico Luigi Ricasoli, has published a notification to the effect that —"Since all the Priests of that Society are *suspended by the Archbishop of Florence*, and cannot therefore officiate in their clerical character, on the day of the Statuto, they desire to testify their loyalty and patriotism

by a manifesto of their principles." It contains the following protestations:—

"Che Essi" (i. e. the members of the Society) "non hanno mai infranto il giuramento spontaneamente e liberamente prestato al Re eletto Vittorio Emanuele II., ed allo Statuto fondamentale del Regno.—Che finalmente, mantenendosi veri e sinceri cristiani, cattolici, apostolici, hanno pregato e pregano tanto in particolare, quanto nelle loro raunanze, perchè tutti i Ministri della Santa Chiesa, deposti i secolari desiderj, e rinunziati i caduchi beni terreni, aspirino solo agli spirituali e celesti che guidano alla vita eterna; perchè tornino a benedire ed abbracciare nella pace del Signore e nella fraterna carità tutti i fedeli cristiani, ed in particolare i figli di questa prediletta Italia, riconciliandoli col Capo visibile della Chiesa, che è pure italiano. Pregarono e pregano finalmente per la concordia di tutti i figli d'Italia, affinchè spenti gli odj ed abolite le infami sette, si abbraccino nel santo vincolo di carità per concorrere tutti alla completa unificazione ed al finale trionfo della Nazione.

"*Viva l'Italia libera ed Una.*

"*Viva Vittorio Emanuele Il Re Costituzionale.*

"*Viva la Vera Religione di Gesù Cristo.*

"Il Vice-Presidente

"Luigi Ricasoli,

"Can. de la Metrop. Fiorentina.

"F. Caldini,

"Segretario Generale."

On the other hand the National Anniversary was celebrated by the Chapter of the Cathedral of Milan (which has no Bishop now) and in some other Churches. I believe that the Bishops of Cremona, Larino, and Mazzara were present at the celebration in their Cathedrals.

The Bishop of Como has also shown more toleration in this matter than most of his Episcopal brethren. But Monsignor Tommaso Ghilardi, Bishop of Mondovi, sent a circular to the Clergy of his Diocese, in which he told them that *every Church* where the national festival was celebrated, would be placed under an Interdict. Even the Capitular Vicars have issued similar letters. The

Vicario Capitolare of Grosseto announced to the Clergy of that Diocese, that in "consequence of the prohibition from the *Roman Penitentiary*" all Parish Priests were rigorously forbidden to take any part in any religious ceremony connected with the Anniversary.

Such is the state of things now: Bishops against Clergy; Clergy divided among themselves; the Government and the People at war with the Episcopate; Society distracted, and Religion suffering from the heat of parties and the strife of tongues.

Monday, June 2nd.—A Florentine Ecclesiastic informed me to-day that there are six Bishoprics now vacant in Tuscany, and a great many Parishes left without Incumbents: the reason is, as was before intimated, that the Pope will not give the required "bulls of institution" to the King's nominees to *Episcopal Sees;* and the Bishops, who are the Pope's subjects, bound to him by oaths of vassalage, will not give institution to the King's nominees to the *benefices* in the royal patronage.

The result of this conflict between the King

and the Pope is very hurtful to religion and morality. I asked why the Government did not dispense with the Papal institution. "Hanno paura," was the reply. I asked whether the Government did not remember the inscription on the Palazzo Vecchio of the city, "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium." The Government need not fear the Pope, if it can prove to the People, as might easily be done, that the Pope, in claiming a right to deprive the cities of Italy of Chief Pastors, is setting himself in opposition, not only to the King of Italy, but to the "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium," that he is robbing Christ's flock of the spiritual food and guidance which He willed that they should have. Let the Rulers of Italy show to the people of Italy that the Pope has not religion on his side, as he pretends to have, but is resisting the will of God, and is pursuing an Antichristian policy; then they will be able to withstand the Papacy: but they will not be able to resist it by secular arguments alone, and by political considerations; and even if they were, they would have no solid foundation for their own authority, because, by

abandoning the principles of true religion, they would have created a spirit of irreligion among the people, and would have given impulse to a revolutionary movement, which will not spare the civil institutions of the country, but will eventually be destructive of the Monarchy.

I do not desire to mingle the solemn considerations, derivable from the prophecies of Holy Scripture, with these desultory reflections, but I cannot forbear observing that the Book of Revelation contains a remarkable prediction that the "Kings of the Earth,"—the secular Powers of this world,—will inflict severe chastisement on the mystical Babylon; and after they have done the deed, they "will weep over her, and bewail her[1]." May not this perhaps be, because *any* religion, however corrupt it may be, is better than *no religion at all?* and because by weakening the power of Rome, without providing, at the same time, any sound religious foundation for their Thrones, they will have exposed their People to the ravages of Irreligion and Un-

[1] Rev. xviii. 9.

belief, which must be productive of a restless, factious, and anarchical spirit, that will have no more reverence for Sovereigns than it has for Popes, and will involve their Kingdoms in confusion and ruin ?

The traditional authority of the old local municipalities in the great cities of Italy,—such as Genoa, Milan, Florence, Pisa, and Naples,—has been impaired by recent events which have dissipated that bright vision of "Italian Commonwealths, each city a star-like seat of ancient glory." Their light has been eclipsed by the splendid promise of Italian Unity.

The once potent influence of Romanism as a system of *religious* belief acting upon practice, is also becoming hourly weaker and weaker in Italy, and this decay of its influence renders it a duty more urgent and imperative to raise up another and sounder spirit of Religion, as a substitute in its place. The fabric of Italian Society is like a venerable old building, whose foundations have been loosened by the decay of religion ; and if the building is not *shored up*, it must fall. If measures are not adopted for strengthening

the social structure, the result is inevitable. It is not Victor Emmanuel who will triumph, nor is it the Papacy which will gain the day, but an Infidel and ruthless Democracy will reign victorious, and will ravage Italy with its fierce passions, and will reduce this beautiful land to a desolate wilderness.

CHAPTER XIII.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

June 3.—Called this morning on a celebrated Italian Advocate. Like many other intelligent men of his class, he appeared to think that the destruction of the Pope's temporal power would be the panacea for the evils of Italy; and that it is necessary to strain every nerve to obtain that result; and that other reforms, political and religious, would then follow as a matter of course. "Let us once get Rome, and then all the questions which were debated at your English Reformation in the sixteenth Century will come upon us—yes, flow in upon us in a torrent, before we are prepared for them." "Why then do you not prepare for them now?" "La politica assorbisce tutto," was the reply: *that* is the answer now generally given to all such questions. Politics absorb every thing; and all politics

seem to be merged in this one consideration, How are we to get Rome? How are we to dethrone the Pope, and crown Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, in the Roman Capitol?

In the evening I called upon one of the most learned Ecclesiastics of Florence; he spoke with fervid eloquence on the present crisis. "Nothing," he said, "can be more painful and disastrous than the struggle between the spiritual and temporal power. 'Non finirà senza sangue.' It will not end without bloodshed. This political conflict is also very injurious to our literature. No great literary work can be undertaken by us now. People read newspapers and political pamphlets and little else. It is a national characteristic of Italians to be jealous of one another, and to be intolerant of one another's merit, and therefore we do not work harmoniously together; and we are too impetuous and passionate, and do not consider things calmly, and are too proud to learn of others."

He deplored in strong terms,—quite as strong as those used by Filippo Perfetti in his book lately published at Florence,—the present degraded condition of the Clergy; they

are, he said, for the most part, "senza istruzione," illiterate and ignorant: and he lamented that many of them, to use his own words, are "scostumatissimi."

"Our Episcopate is debased—our Bishops are slaves of the Pope, and despots of the Clergy, and of the People. What a glorious opportunity was that which our own Archbishop had in the present week of asserting the true character of the Christian Episcopate!. The Pope commanded him not to pray for the King and the Nation in the Cathedral: the Pope commanded him to prevent the Clergy and the People of Florence from praying for the King and the Nation. Monstrous usurpation! Ought not the Archbishop to have remonstrated with the Pope? Ought he not to have withstood the Pope, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face when he was to be blamed[1]; and ought he not to have reminded him that Almighty God commands us to pray for Kings and all in authority[2]; and that in forbidding us to pray for our King and our Country, the Pope is resisting God?"

[1] Gal. ii. 11.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

He spoke of certain recent publications, which had called attention to the usurpations of the Curia Romana; for instance, the book entitled "Rome des Papes," by Count Luigi Pianciani, who (he said) had the best opportunities of observing the working of the tribunals, &c., at Rome. There are also the publications of Filippo Perfetti (formerly Secretary of Cardinal Marini and Librarian of the University), entitled, "*The Clergy and Society;* or, *on the Reformation of the Church,*" ("Il Clero e la Società," &c.,) "*Remembrances of Rome,*" ("Ricordi di Roma,") and "*On the new conditions of the Papacy,*" ("Delle nuove condizioni del Papato"); also, the remarkable work of Abate Rosmini, "*The five wounds of the Holy Church,*" ("Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa,") and "*Urgent Questions,*" by Massimo D'Azeglio.

"However," said he, "do not imagine that I wish to say any thing against the *Church* of Rome; it is against the *Court* of Rome, and its *secular* authorities that I am speaking; her pride and lust of power—*there* is the cause of our misery; and I am saying nothing new.

Ever since the eighth century there has been a succession of illustrious men who have protested against its usurpations. It is the union of the temporal and spiritual power, and the carnal abuse of the spiritual power by the Papacy for its own ambition and aggrandizement, that has done the mischief. It is Dante who says [3]:—

> 'la Chiesa di Roma
> Per confondere in sè due reggimenti
> Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.'"

The names of Petrarch and Arnald of Brescia and Guicciardini were also mentioned as exponents of the same feeling; and when I referred to the remarkable chapter [4], in which Guicciardini traces the rise and progress of the Papal power, but which was not allowed by the Papal censors to appear in the Italian edition of his History, he said that some other remarks of the same distinguished writer on the same subject, had recently been published,

[3] Purgatorio, Canto xvi.

[4] In the Fourth book of his History.

for the first time, in a collection of his "Opere inedite" by Canestrini, at Florence[5].

"We must *begin*," said he, "with questions concerning the proper limits of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction, and then we may arrive in due time at reformation in matters of doctrine. Among those which would first come under consideration, are the celibacy of the Clergy, and the enforcement of private confession to a Priest."

"Yes," I added, "and the reading of the Scriptures by all."

"True," he replied, "we must come to that. In the mean time, Religion suffers from the struggle between the Roman Hierarchy on the one side, and the Government and People on the other: and from the conflict also between our Bishops on one side, and many of the Priesthood on the other. If you had been here last month, the month of May, the 'Mese di Maria,' which is the season most favourable

[5] Printed by G. Barbèra, Via Faenza, who also promises an edition of all the remains of Fra Paolo Sarpi, to be edited by Perfetti: a very valuable work for the present times.

for popular devotion, you would have seen that some of our Churches were almost empty. We are passing through a severe crisis. No one can tell to what it may lead."

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the illustrious Florentine Poet, Dante Alighieri, wrote his treatise "De Monarchiâ," in which he contended for the rights of civil Rulers against the usurpations of the Papacy; and about two hundred and twenty years afterwards the noble Florentine historian, Francesco Guicciardini, wrote his History of his own time, in which he who was the favoured friend and counsellor of two Florentine Popes of the house of the Medici, Leo X. and Clement VII., has drawn the masterly sketch, already noticed [6], of the rise and progress of the Papacy. He there shows how, from slender beginnings, the Popes gradually arose to power; how for many centuries the Popes were nominated by the Emperors; but in course of time, when the Empire became weak, the election of Popes was transferred from their hands to those of the Cardinals;

[6] Above, p. 231.

and the Popes proceeded to claim a veto upon the nomination of the Emperors, and then to exercise a power of dethroning them; and so, step after step, rising higher and higher, and urging new claims, and using the terrors of spiritual weapons for temporal ends, and wielding the thunders and lightnings of a double supremacy, they kept Sovereigns in awe, and trampled all earthly Powers under their feet. Guicciardini's words are as follows:—

"His igitur fundamentis et modis ad terrenam potestatem elati, et sensim animarum salutis divinorumque præceptorum obliti, atque ad mundana imperia omni cogitatione conversi, nec divinâ auctoritate alio quàm quasi telo et instrumento rerum fragilium abutentes, Principes potiùs gentium quàm rerum sacrarum Pontifices videri cœperunt. Horum curæ et negotia non jam vitæ sanctimonia, non religionis incrementa, non ergà Deum et homines caritas, sed exercitus, sed bella in Christianos, sed pecuniæ immensa cupido, novæ leges, novæ artes, novæ insidiæ ad pecuniam undique cogendam; in hunc finem audacissimè arma cœlestia vibrare, profanarum sacrarumque rerum nundinationem impuden-

tissimè exercere. Hinc opes in immensum adauctæ, et in totam ipsorum aulam effusæ, ex quibus fastus luxus, mores turpissimi, libidines voluptatesque nefandæ."

Wonderful words, especially as coming from the Secretary of the Pope!

In this Chapter two recent publications have been mentioned, which, as they throw much light on the history of Religion in Italy at this time, deserve some further remark.

The first of these is entitled, "*The Clergy and Society*, or *on the Reformation of the Church;*" it is written by *Filippo Perfetti*, a Priest, who was Secretary of Cardinal Marini, and Librarian of the University of Rome, and President of the Collegio Ghislieri, and who now occupies a literary post at Perugia.

It was published at Florence in the present year.

"It is a melancholy sight," he says, "and one which ought to afflict the heart of every Christian, to see the Church of Rome and its partizans abusing the name of Religion for temporal interests; and it is still more dreadful to think that this grievous abuse does not

offend the consciences of all: but that, on the contrary, a man is denounced as an enemy of the Church, and a scholar of Macchiavelli, who protests against such a violation, and is indignant at this confusion of secular and holy things."

He deplores the consequent inability of Religion to do her proper work of social sanctification. "The Church and Society are severing themselves from one another more and more. We have a Laity which is no longer religious, and a Clergy without moral influence. What will become of us? A few Priests, scattered here and there, raise a feeble voice against these evils, and they are met by maledictions!

"At a time, while civil Governments are becoming more popular, and are assuming representative forms, and submit to be controlled and criticized, the Government of the Church and its Hierarchy are becoming more and more despotic; the Priest is merged into the Bishop, and the Bishop is absorbed into the Pope. The crowning dogma of all clerical education is *idolatry of the Pope. The Pope is the Church.*"

"The Episcopate has had the boldness to declare to the Clergy of Italy that they have an absolute and unlimited right to suspend any Priest at their pleasure, without giving any reason for such suspension. Christ made them Ministers, and they have made themselves Despots.

"What is the use of our remonstrance? Let the Churches of Italy perish" (is the reply); "it matters not, if their sacrifice can maintain the Pope on his throne! Let the souls and bodies of the People perish; it matters not, if Revolution is thus goaded to excesses, and is conquered by a malignant policy!"

The Author next speaks of the separation between the Clergy and the People in the public offices of Religion.

"What is now the state of things in our churches, at the time of public worship, even at the celebration of the holiest mysteries of our Religion? The People are either indifferent to what is going on, or pray without attending to what is being done by the Priest. There is a wide gulph between Priest and People, in that very place, and at the very

time, when Priest and People ought to be united before God with one heart. The Priest is isolated in the very centre of the sublimest mysteries; he stands isolated at the Altar; he stands isolated at the tombs of the Martyrs. The People know not, care not for what is going on; till they are wakened from their lethargy, not by the human voice, but as if they were mere animals, by the metallic tinkle of a bell, which is a signal to the sheep of Christ!"

He then considers the Clergy in their *moral* relation to the People; and shows how the Clergy are incapacitated from exercising a moral influence on the popular mind by the position into which they have been forced by the Papacy—a position antagonistic to the Nation, to its liberty, its intelligence, and its advancement. Besides, the Clergy, as a body, he says, who ought to be Teachers of the people, are inferior in learning to the educated classes of the laity; and if any one stands forth from among the Clergy, and distinguishes himself from the rest of the Clerical body by genius or learning,—such as Gioberti, Rosmini, and Passaglia,—he is proscribed by the Hierarchy, or is driven astray, as Lamennais.

"Who can justify," he asks, "the conduct of Rome towards those great names?"

"The Clergy have need of two Reforms: a reform in their morals, and a reform in their influence on society; and neither of these is possible, while the domination of the Hierarchy is unlimited as it now is. The action of the Hierarchy must be restrained within the limits of the *divine constitution of the Church.*"

To effect this reform, Italy must *return* to the principles and practices of the Church Catholic as displayed in the Holy Scriptures, and in the works of the primitive Fathers of the Church.

The misfortune is, that the Clergy of Italy, he observes, are not acquainted with the Bible.

"The Bible, interpreted by the Church, is the food of the soul. What was the teaching of the holy Fathers? It was the exposition of the Bible. But now our Catholic populations are ignorant of the Bible; they who are called *devout* among us are ignorant of the Bible, no less than they who are indifferent to religion. The Scriptures have been supplanted by a scholastic Theology; and this scholastic

Theology has produced the results which we see and deplore. The Priesthood has set itself up in the place of the Bible, instead of building itself up with the Laity upon the foundation of the Bible. One of the greatest sins of the Catholic Priesthood is that of having wrested the Bible out of the hands of the People. Let us return to the Bible; let us return to the Gospel; and let us dive deep into the holiness of the character of the Divine Redeemer; He is our pattern; let us conform ourselves to His life, to His image. If this had been our rule, who among us would have ventured to compare the Pope, who destroys us, to the Son of God who has saved us? Perhaps the extravagant idolatry of the Papacy, which our own age has witnessed, and still sees, is permitted by God in order that we all, both Pastors and flock, may be revolted thereby, and be driven to the love and practice of Christian humility and charity."

He concludes with stating his opinion, that, for the restoration of the Church to its proper position, it is requisite that the People and the Clergy should recover their ancient rights

in the election of Bishops. "*Let the People and the Clergy with the Metropolitan choose their Bishops*[7]."

It is probable, that, unless the Government of Italy adopts some measures for adjusting this question of election, it may find that the present suspension of the action of Concordats between itself and the Papacy may lead, sooner than it is aware, to a *popular* election of Bishops, without any reference to the Crown.

The other volume, to which I have referred, is that of the Abate *Antonio Rosmini*, entitled, "*Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa*[8]," "The five wounds of Holy Church."

It is not possible to do justice to this remarkable work by a brief abstract. The tone of saintly piety and serious earnestness which pervades the work, the stores of sound learning which are contained in it, the clear, calm, and unimpassioned statement of wrongs and their remedies, contribute to render it an admirable specimen of genuine Christian philosophy.

I shall content myself with stating what, in

[7] P. 56.

[8] The edition to which I refer was published at Naples in 1860.

the mature judgment of this holy man, exemplary priest, and profound philosopher, the *wounds* of the Church of Italy are, which are now bleeding, and implore aid.

They are as follows:—

1. The severance of the Clergy from the People in *public worship* (pp. 1—19). The remedy for that would be, he says, in the substitution of the *mother tongue* of the people for a dead language.

2. The *insufficient education of the Clergy*. He deplores the neglect of the Scriptures, and of primitive Theology; and the substitution of miserable, dry, and jejune epitomes of the dogmatic teaching of the Schools. "Who will restore," he asks, "to the Church her great Teachers? 'i suoi grandi libri,' the Bible, and the primitive Fathers?" (pp. 20—45.)

3. The *disunion of Bishops;* the transformation of Bishops into feudal lords, striving for wealth and power, and exercising an arbitrary power over the Clergy. The reform would be in the restoration of the duties and privileges of the Metropolitans, and in the action of Synods (pp. 45—68).

4. The *appointment of Bishops by the State*,

without any of the safeguards, which were provided in the ancient Church, by the intervention of the Clergy and People in the choice of Bishops (pp. 68—151).

5. The *control of Ecclesiastical property by the State;* and the remedy is, that the Church, by which the Author means the Laity as well as the Clergy, should have the free administration of her own revenues. He is very earnest in his advocacy of a return to the practice of resorting to the free-will offerings of the People for pious and charitable purposes.

This Volume was completed in the year 1846, at the accession of Pius IX.; when the Author entertained a sanguine hope, that the Pope, whose intimate friend and counsellor he was, would adopt these suggestions of reformation. This fact should be remembered by the reader, who may feel some surprise in seeing that the Author throws a veil over the corruptions and usurpations of the Papacy. While he inveighs strongly against the arbitrary abuses of the *civil* power in the appointment of Bishops, he says nothing of the usurpations of the Papacy in that respect.

The Pope offered him a Cardinal's hat; which he declined.

When Pope Pius IX. changed his policy, Rosmini was disgraced, arrested, and sent to Naples; and then exiled from Southern Italy, and his book was condemned by the Church of Rome: he submitted to the Papal sentence, and died at Strèsa on the Lago Maggiore in 1855, at the age of fifty-five.

In the edition of this work, which is before me, there is an interesting letter (pp. 175—177) on the ancient *elections of Bishops by the Clergy and People*, written at Stresa, 8th June, 1848, and a second letter (p. 178), in which the Author expressed a hope, that Carlo Alberto might be induced to cede his own rights of nomination, to the Clergy and People of the Dioceses of his Kingdom; and he does not hesitate to avow his conviction, that "le elezioni de' Vescovi a Clero e Popolo sono di diritto divino" (p. 178), and he concludes with these prophetic words, "Although at the present time the Christian People (of Italy) seems to take little interest in the appointment of Bishops, *the time will come when it will take the greatest interest in that question.*"

That prophecy is now fulfilled. The question of the election of Bishops in Italy is one of urgency at the present crisis; and unless the Government of Italy takes measures for the equitable settlement of that question, the day may arrive, when (to quote the Author's words in the same page) "the People of Italy will wrest from the grasp of the Sovereign the liberty of choosing their Bishops."

CHAPTER XIV.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

June 4.—I heard to-day that the work of colportage of religious books is becoming more difficult in Tuscany than it was a year ago. The Archbishop of Florence has made strong remonstrances against it: and the Laws of Tuscany against reading the Bible, though not actually enforced, still remain unrepealed. At the same time it may be mentioned as an encouraging fact, that several hundreds of the middle and poorer classes meet habitually at Florence to read the Bible.

A friend told me, that last year a tract—denouncing the errors of Popery—had been circulated among the soldiers at the Cascine on June 1, but that those who circulated it then, would not venture to do so now. May not this change in the temper of the authori-

ties be due in a great measure to the somewhat indiscreet zeal, and aggressive spirit, in which the work of religious propagandism has been often carried on? In the shop-window of the "Libreria Evangelica," in the Via Tornabuoni in Florence, I saw a print, in which the principal doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church were exposed to contempt: and I was assured, that Roman Catholic Priests, who were attracted to the window by the print, which represents the inside of a Roman Catholic Church, turned from it with expressions of anger and indignation, which they showed by spitting upon it. In their eyes it was a profane and blasphemous caricature. Surely such representations as these are as uncharitable and unchristian, as they are imprudent and injudicious. St. Paul was the most courageous and zealous of Christian Missionaries. But his courage and zeal were guided by wisdom, and regulated by charity, and he showed his wisdom and charity by endeavouring to conciliate and win the affections of his heathen audience. As a Christian Preacher, he began his addresses to them with referring to matters in which he

and they were of the *same mind;* and *not* to things in which he *differed* from them. He entered into their feelings: he sympathized with them, he identified himself with them, *as far as he could.* He placed himself on *their* ground, and endeavoured to look at things from *their* point of view. Thus, for instance, in preaching to the men of Athens, he took his text from the Altar which he had seen in their own city[1]. The declaration of the town-clerk of Ephesus is a remarkable tribute to the moderation and wisdom of Apostolic missionary preaching; "Ye have brought hither these men, who are neither robbers of churches (temples), nor *yet blasphemers of your goddess*[2]."

But now-a-days some missionaries and preachers of the Gospel,—the Gospel of peace and love,—seem to think that they cannot do better, than in commencing their appeals to those whom they wish to convert, by outraging their most cherished affections, and revolting all their most deeply-rooted convictions. And these zealous missionaries are highly offended,

[1] Acts xvii. 23. [2] Acts xix. 37.

and greatly exasperated, and perhaps complain that they are "persecuted for righteousness' sake," if their efforts at proselytism are restrained; and so, by their indiscreet zeal, they damage the holy cause which they go forth to serve."

Surely there is a wide domain of common ground between ourselves and the intelligent Clergy and Laity of Italy, in which we may meet together, and calmly deliberate concerning the fundamental principles of Christianity. They agree with us in reverence for the Bible, and for the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church. They agree with us in acknowledging the authority of the Three Creeds, the necessity of a Priesthood for the preaching of the Gospel, and for the administration of the Christian Sacraments. Ought we not to *begin* with those points in which *they* are seeking Reformation, namely, in matters which concern the jurisdiction of the Papacy? They are prepared to determine these questions by an appeal to Holy Scripture, and to the ancient laws and usages of the Christian Church. Might we not render essential service, in promoting their desires

and endeavours in this respect? Might we not aid them, in diffusing information concerning the laws of Church Government in primitive times? Might we not aid them, in proving to the People of Italy, that the claims of the Pope to regulate the appointment of Bishops throughout Italy, and to *impose oaths* of *vassalage* upon them, are *not* founded on Scripture, nor on the authority of Christian Antiquity, but are *novel* and *unjust usurpations?* Might we not assist them, in opening the way for the appointment of pious, wise, and learned men to the vacant Bishoprics and Parochial Cures in Italy; of men unfettered by trammels of subjection to the Papacy, and free from the bondage of unrighteous oaths? And if a change were made in the position of the Hierarchy and Priesthood in these respects, would not a door be opened for reforms from *within*, in a regular and orderly manner?

The Clergy and People of Italy are *not* yet ripe for polemical discussions of controverted points of *theology;* but they *are* prepared and eager for the investigation of questions of Church *discipline;* and the work of Reforma-

tion might be commenced with an appeal to Christian Antiquity,—especially to the Christian Antiquity of *Italy*,—in order to settle the true limits of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction. There are providential circumstances which render this appeal not only seasonable, but imperative. The fact that two of the greatest Archiepiscopal sees of Italy are now void,—Milan and Turin,—and that thirty-two other Bishoprics are vacant, by reason of the conflict between the Pope and the King; and the fact also, that it is uncanonical and unjust to *keep those sees vacant*, afford a favourable occasion for the discussion and settlement of the whole question concerning the relative rights of the Crown, the Clergy, and the People, in the nomination and appointment of Bishops; and this discussion would not fail to reveal a series of usurpations on the part of the Papacy, and in *other* respects would prepare the way for a general examination of its claims, temporal and spiritual.

Let the Churches of England, Ireland, and America, and of the Colonies of Great Britain, invite the Church of Italy to meet them on this

common ground of Christian Antiquity; let them assist the Church of Italy in an honest endeavour to ascertain, what were the rights of the Italian Clergy and People in the fourth century, and what were then the Laws and Usages of the Italian Church, and what was then the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Thus Italy might obtain a peaceful solution of the difficulties which now embarrass her. She might, by God's help, emancipate herself from the thraldom of Rome, without breaking the bands of the Gospel, and casting away the cords of Christianity: rather, she would be strengthening those sacred bands and cords, which are the surest pledges and safeguards of national peace and prosperity; and the Italian Monarchy would rest securely on the solid basis of ancient Catholic Truth.

CHAPTER XV.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Wednesday Afternoon.—Went to the Pitti Palace and Boboli gardens. We made friends with an old gardener, who had lived there thirty years, and had seen many changes in the occupation of the princely Palace; and, like the broom in the fable of a late English Poet, had remained in his place, while the princely oaks had been torn up by political storms.

In a time of social and political restlessness, he had passed his days peacefully among these trees, and shrubs, and flowers, like Homer's old [1] Laertes, who spent his time quietly in his vineyard, while the suitors of Penelope were rioting in the Palace of Ulysses; or like Virgil's "Corycian old man," who dwelt peaceably among his roses and amid his beehives,

[1] Homer, Odyss. xxiv. 225.

and beneath the shade of his lindens and his elms [2], while the Roman world was distracted by civil wars; or like the peasant, whom Claudian describes as dwelling in the neighbourhood of Verona, but who rarely went beyond the range of his paternal fields, and lived in a peaceful old age, unconscious of social feuds and untouched by political revolutions [3]. Our old gardener led us to a short wooden ladder fixed against a wall, and from the top of it we enjoyed one of the most interesting and beautiful views which can any where be seen. In the distance were the blue ridges of the Apennines, crested with old cities, such as Fæsulæ, dating from the days of the early Etruscans, and more ancient than Rome. Beneath us lay the city of Florence, with its noble buildings, suggestive of recollections of Dante, and Brunelleschi, and Savonarola, and Michael Angelo, and Galileo, and the Medicean Princes and Popes. On our right was the Church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence; —more to the left was the Duomo, the St. Paul's of Florence, with its glorious cupola and lofty campanile, and the roof of the Baptistery;

[2] Georgic iv. 125—145. [3] Claudian, Epigram ii.

and, still more to the left, the Church of San Lorenzo, and that of S. Maria Novella: and the Vale of the Arno flowing toward the Mediterranean Sea.

The Boboli gardens with their dark avenues of ilex and laurustinus and other evergreens, and their funereal cypresses, had a gloomy appearance, and there was a black thunder-storm brooding in the clouds above us, which added to the solemnity of the scene; and the long and lofty terraces, and high flights of stately stone steps leading up to them, and the walks of these princely gardens, now deserted—but formerly alive and brilliant with gay companies of Florentine princes, and patricians, and fair ladies in holiday costume—produced a sad and melancholy impression, which was in harmony with the prospect before us.

The ancient glories of Florence have glided away like a dream: the independence of this once famous Republic has disappeared: the national dignity, which it enjoyed as a separate principality, has floated away like a phantom, chased by the visionary day-dream of an united Italy. What will its future be? The olive-trees, some of which the gardener told us were 400

years old, seemed to be the most permanent living objects in the scene.

This evening an ecclesiastical friend, connected with the Church of S. Lorenzo, paid us a visit. He said that the original Church of S. Lorenzo stood outside the walls of Florence, and was consecrated by S. Ambrose (about A.D. 393), who was intimate with Zenobius, then Bishop of Florence: and that it was the primitive Cathedral of Florence: it is now a Collegiate Church, with about a dozen Canons, I believe.

Thursday, June 5.—Went to S. Miniato al Monte; steep ascent with cypresses at the top. You mount the hill by a Via Crucis, very significant and characteristic, as leading to the beautiful view at the summit of the hill from that Church. A Gethsemane of toil, leading to an Olivet of triumph. S. Miniato is now a burial-place. There is a crypt beneath the Church. This must be a laborious ascent for a funeral cortége; but perhaps the labour is well compensated by associations and suggestions suitable for religious musing and meditation, and by its retirement from the city, and its elevation above the business of

the world. The ambon in the Church carries us back to ancient times, when the Gospel was read openly to the people.

Friday, June 6.—Grand Mass to-day at S. Croce in honour of Cavour, it being the first anniversary of his death. There were banners fringed with crape, hung out of the windows in the streets. On the eve, at the "Villé de Paris," the men (no women) were engaged in making wreaths and garlands of flowers, lilies, carnations, blue larkspurs, and green leaves, to decorate his cenotaph.

Over the door of the Church was the following inscription:—

"A Camillo di Cavour,
Mente d' Italia,
Che oggi fa l' anno lo pianse.
Rinnovando per voto pubblico
Degne onoranze.
Giuriamo a Dio in questo Santuario
Di avita sapienza e gloria perenne
Compiere con fede, senno, amore,
Ond' ebbe cominciamento,
L' Unità della Patria."

The scene in the Church after the Mass was too dramatic and artificial for our taste. The glare and smell of the countless candles, the

gaudy style of ornament of the high catafalque, raised in the centre of the Church; and, above all, the glorification of the human instrument, in the temple of God, were all repugnant to the feelings, in different ways. All that was here displayed began and ended in *man*.

Went to Casa Salviani, Via Chiara, lately purchased as a college for the Vaudois; I believe, in great measure, by the generous liberality of members of the Free Kirk of Scotland. Had an interview with the Vaudois Pastor, Geymonat, a zealous, able, and eloquent man, who officiates in the Church of the Vaudois, or Valdesi (as the Italians call them), and also gives instruction as Professor in the College, which is for the training of theological students.

Signor Geymonat has lately published at Florence an interesting history of that body, entitled, "*Gli Evangelici Valdesi.*" He traces their origin from the ninth century,—especially from the time of Claudio, a Spaniard, who was Bishop of Turin in A.D. 822, and protested vehemently against the corruptions of Rome, in doctrine and worship.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, other

champions arose who contended for a purer faith; and Signor Geymonat justly observes that the Church of Rome has done injustice to the *Waldenses*, by ascribing their rise and name to *Peter Waldo* or *Valdo*, who flourished at the end of the twelfth century.

Their name, like that of the Albigenses, is of local origin. The latter were so called from Albi, where they dwelt; and the *valleys* of Piedmont gave their name to the *Valdesi*, or *Vaudois*. It is more probable that Waldo was so named from the Waldenses, than that the Waldenses were so called from him[4].

The "Holy Office of the Inquisition," instituted by S. Dominic, and fostered by Pope Innocent III., in the thirteenth century, endeavoured to exterminate the Waldenses. The fourth Lateran Council, at Rome, proclaimed a religious war—a crusade—in A.D. 1215, against the Christians of Piedmont. The Emperor Frederick II., stimulated by Pope Honorius III., issued an edict for their utter extinction. Other Popes, such as John XXII., Clement VI., Gregory XI., Clement VII., continued the war of persecution. Innocent VIII., in

[4] Geymonat, p. 10.

1477, published a Bull in which he charged his Nuncio, in Savoy, to require the King of France and the *Duke of Savoy* to extirpate the Waldenses, and in which he authorized him "to preach a holy crusade against them, and to offer to all the faithful, who assisted him, plenary indulgences and pardon once in their lives[5], for all their sins;" and gave free liberty to any one to seize their goods; and declares that all "Kings and Magistrates shall be deposed and excommunicated," who do not obey the orders of the Nuncio in this matter.

The subsequent History of the Waldenses exhibits a continuation of the same conduct on the part of the Papacy during the two following centuries. Especially in the years 1535—1537, the fury of Rome, aided by Carlo III. *of Savoy*, raged against them; and burst forth again in 1557 and 1560; and once more in 1637—1640, under Christina, regent of *Savoy*, daughter of Mary of Medicis[6]. Pope Innocent X., in 1649, issued a Bull, in which he annulled all the franchises which had been conceded to the Waldenses by the *House of*

[5] P. 27.

[6] See p. 59.

Savoy; and commands were issued from *Turin*, in 1655, "to put them to the sword[1]." Dreadful was the carnage which ensued. Milton, in his Sonnet "on the Massacre in Piedmont," has uttered a prayer to heaven, that the groans may there be recorded of those who were slain in their ancient fold

> "By the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
> Mother with infant down the rocks: their moans
> The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
> To Heaven."

Cromwell sent Sir William Morland to Turin with a letter to the Duke of Savoy, in which he implored him to spare his own subjects; and on the 18th of August, 1656, some respite was obtained for them by the Truce of Pinerolo: and 40,000*l.* was collected in their behalf in England, under Cromwell's auspices; and Sir W. Morland published a History of their sufferings, at London, in 1658.

Their peace was of short duration. The Church of Rome exerted her influence at the courts of Louis XIV. and of Victor Amadëus II. *of Savoy*, and an edict was issued at *Turin*

[1] "Ho visto l' ordine d' *uccidere tutti.*"

on the 9th April, 1686, which was the counterpart of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Waldenses were forbidden to exercise their religion on pain of expulsion from their homes. The Waldenses met in a religious council, and resolved to celebrate the Holy Communion on the following Easter. A war of extermination ensued, and 6000 were cast into prison, and more than 1000 slain [8].

They were again aided by England. Queen Mary, the wife of William III., instituted a fund, which still exists; and which, together with the additions made in England in 1776, produces an annual income of 13,000 francs, which are distributed among thirteen Ministers of the Waldensian Communion by the instrumentality of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Substantial aid has also been supplied by two generous persons, the Reverend Dr. Gilly, late Canon of Durham, and General Beckwith. The Vaudois College of Torre, in 1855, was instituted by Dr. Gilly and General Beckwith; and the latter has aided in the foundation and reparation of eighty Vaudois Schools.

[8] P. 68.

By a decree of the Waldensian Synod in 1860, it has been resolved to transfer the Theological School from Torre to Florence, where I had an interview to-day with the learned and able writer of the History of the Waldenses, who was the Secretary of the Assembly which published the "Constitution of the Evangelical Church of the Waldenses" at Torre, on 25th May, 1855; which may be seen in his volume [9].

There is something *prophetic* in Milton's Sonnet, just noticed (Sonnet xviii.):—

"Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold.
. . . . Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant."

It is a signal retribution of Divine Providence on the Papacy, that the present assaults upon Rome are coming from *Piedmont;* that is, from precisely that part of Italy, which—as is shown in the above historical sketch—was the scene of its most barbarous and cruel outrages

[9] Pp. 198—210.

upon the poor, simple, and helpless Christian worshippers in the valleys of that region, who were butchered like sheep by the emissaries of Rome. Rome preached Crusades against *Piedmont*. *Piedmont* is now preaching a Crusade against Rome. Rome stimulated the *House of Savoy* to exterminate the Christians of those valleys. The *House of Savoy* is now leading the legions of Italy—some 300,000 strong—against Rome.

Carlo Passaglia is also leading his spiritual forces—his 9000 Priests—from *Piedmont* to the doors of the Vatican, and conjures the Pope, in the name of Christianity and of Italy, to abdicate his temporal sovereignty, and to lay down his royal diadem at the feet of Victor Emmanuel. Are not these "signs of the times?" May we not mark the footprints of Divine Omnipotence, and of Divine Justice here?

I heard on good authority that the Free Kirk of Scotland, which has little sympathy with "the Plymouthists," as they are called here, prefers to work with and by the Waldenses, who have Teachers trained and set apart for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. The Waldenses have also some set

liturgical forms, and recite the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in their public worship. They have also a "Confession of Faith" agreed upon by the Vaudois Churches in 1655, which consists of Thirty-three Articles:

The substance of these articles is as follows:—

1. On the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

2, 3, 4. On the veracity and inspiration of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament.

8. On original sin.

11. On election and reprobation.

13. On the two Natures—the Divine and Human—in the One Person of Christ.

15, 16. On the Sacrifice of the Cross—offered once for all, and not to be repeated—the sole meritorious cause of justification with God.

17. On union with Christ, and Justification by Faith, resting on the promises made in the Gospel.

19. On Christ the Only Mediator and Intercessor with the Father.

20. On the promise which God makes of

regeneration in Christ to those who are united to Him by Faith.

21. On the necessity of good works.[1]

22. On the eternal reward promised to good works.

23. Against invocation of Saints, who are to be imitated, but not worshipped.

24. On Christ the Only Head of the One Church which God has instituted in the world for the salvation of men.

25, 26, 27. On the holiness, unity, and indefectibility of the Church.

28. On the necessity of the means of grace, which are the Word of God, and the two Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, which God has instituted as means whereby we are united to Christ, and partake of His benefits.

29. On the Sacrament of Baptism, which was instituted for a witness of our adoption; and wherein we are washed from our sins in the blood of Christ, and are renewed in holiness of life.

30. On the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist, which Christ has instituted to be the food of our souls, in order that, by a true living faith,

and by the incomprehensible virtue of the Holy Ghost, we eating effectually His flesh, and drinking His blood, and being joined most nearly and inseparably to Christ, may have eternal life in and through Him.

31. On the necessity of the Christian Ministry for the preaching of the Word, and Administration of the Sacraments: which Ministry consists of Pastors, joined with Elders and Deacons.

32. On the Civil Magistracy, instituted by God.

33. On the duty of receiving the *Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments*, and *Lord's Prayer*, as fundamental documents of faith and worship.

The Waldenses, or Vaudois, observe also certain Holydays of the Church, Christmas Day, Ascension Day, and Good Friday.

A zealous member of the Scotch Free Church said to me, that he and his brethren could do nothing with the "Plymouthists;" and that no permanent effect could be produced on the Italian mind by their irregular efforts, but that more might be hoped, he thought, from the Waldenses, who were pious, prudent, and

earnest men, and who did not send forth their ministers till they had gone through a long course of study, and had passed the test of a searching examination. Is not this a testimony on the part of the Free Church of Scotland to the necessity of Church-organization? And ought not *that* organization to be preferred which has the stamp of Antiquity and Catholicity?

The Free Church is active at Florence; the Vaudois also, who are now entering on a new career in this spacious theological Seminary, and the Plymouthists, are not idle. These religious Societies are the representatives of the Reformation; and they have rather an aggressive character. But scarcely any thing is done here by the Churches of England, Ireland, Scotland, and America for the purpose of opening out friendly intercourse with the Roman Catholic Clergy, and of conciliating their affections and confidence, and of leading them on to Reformation by an appeal to the principles of primitive Christianity.

CHAPTER XVI.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

WENT to S. Onofrio to see Raffaelle's fresco in the Cenacolo, now secularized: the colours are fresh and clear. Two of his sketches for it are preserved in the apartment; the lower limbs were carefully delineated before they were draped: an evidence of the *science* which underlies the surface of this great Master's pictures, and which is the cause of the beauty of the forms which it underlies. This fresco is well known to the world from its excellent photograph.

Went in the afternoon to the Convent of S. Mark: beautiful frescoes of Fra Angelico in the Cloisters and Chapter-house, and cells of the monks. Some of the figures in these frescoes are exquisite specimens of artistic

delicacy and purity in conception and execution.

Visited the cell of Savonarola, described as "Apostolicus" in the inscription there; but my companion, who belonged to the Monastery, said that the great Florentine preacher was "fanatico per la libertà." These are melancholy days for all who have any connexion with Monasteries; and the memory of all Reformers, even of those who proceeded from their own body, seems to be ungrateful to them. The Italian Legislature has recently passed a Law[1] which prohibits the Monastic Orders from incorporating any new members, and transfers the property of these religious houses to the Crown, for Civil and Military purposes, under certain conditions, viz. that public worship should still be maintained, and "works of art" should be preserved.

The Convents and Monasteries of Italy are now dying slowly of atrophy and inanition. Many of the cells of this noble Monastery are untenanted. The monks, who still linger on in this once celebrated Monastery, seem to be

[1] December 22, 1861.

moving about like shadows ready to vanish away. Their long white flowing Dominican robes, and their large broad-brimmed black beaver hats, contrasted strangely with the bright uniforms and glittering bayonets of the soldiers who are quartered among them; and the once peaceful cloisters of Fra Angelico were sounding with the military music of the Florentine National Guard.

This suppression of Monasteries is a severe blow to the Papacy, whose most able champions and active emissaries have proceeded from them. Striking metamorphosis, and strange transition! These Monasteries, which were like camps and fortresses of the Papacy, are now converted into barracks, and the spiritual militia of the Papacy is making way for the soldiery of Victor Emmanuel.

In a work written by a son of Archbishop Sandys, and pupil of Richard Hooker, about 265 years ago, and addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, and entitled "Europæ Speculum," or a "Survey of the State of Religion," especially in Italy, there are some excellent remarks on the services rendered to the Papacy by what the Author calls "*the multitude of Friars*

ready to be put in arms," p. 74, ed. 1673. The Franciscans alone in the time of Pope Sixtus V. are said by him to have been 30,000, "and the Dominicans strove in competency with the Franciscans in all things." This work of Sir Edwin Sandys is one of much interest to the traveller in Italy, even at this day.

Doubtless the vices of the Monastic Orders have been, in a great degree, the cause of the misfortunes which have lately fallen upon them. The people of Tuscany cannot forget the exposure of the immoralities practised in them, and patronized by them, of which many proofs were given in the days of the Archduke Leopold, and which he attempted to restrain. And the large numbers of religious houses—there were then 213 Convents, and 136 Monasteries in Tuscany—were also prejudicial to them.

No institutions perish, except by internal corruption; but they who execute penal retribution upon them, are too often carried away by a spirit of revenge or self-interest, and do *not reform*, but *destroy*.

No more recruits are now to be added to the Monastic muster-roll of Italy. This is

indeed a severe loss to the Papacy. But may it not also be detrimental to Religion, unless it be accompanied with other wholesome measures of reformation?

The Monasteries sent forth many able and learned Preachers, who in some degree made compensation for the ignorance of the Parochial Clergy, especially by their preaching as Home Missionaries in great towns.

As Sir Edwin Sandys observed in his days, in the work just noticed, p. 86, "Preaching is an exercise in which the *secular* Priests list not to distemper their brains much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the *Regulars*."

The danger is now, that with the suppression of the Monasteries, the character of the Clergy may sink even lower than it is; and that they may become a race of mere mass-priests, ignorant and superstitious, and trading on the ignorance and superstition of others; and thus prepare the way for an antichristian outbreak of Infidelity and Socialism. Would not the Parliament of Italy do well and wisely, if, instead of proceeding to secularize all the

Monasteries and their endowments, it would reserve some of their buildings and revenues for the improvement of the intellectual and social condition of the *Parochial Clergy?* Would not the Parliament of Italy be rendering an essential service to the State, as well as to the Church, if it were to apply some of the resources from the suppressed religious houses to the foundation of *Universities* and *Colleges*, and endowment of *Professorships;* particularly for the instruction of the future Clergy of Italy in *Biblical learning*, *Church History*, and *dogmatic Theology?* The instruction now given in the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of Italy is confessedly poor, meagre, and jejune; it is not based on a sound knowledge of Holy Scripture and the early Fathers, but on the dicta of the mediæval Schoolmen and Papal Canonists, and cannot produce loyal subjects any more than learned divines.

I entered into conversation with one of these Dominicans whom I met in the cloister of S. Mark's. On expressing my regret at the appearance of religious indifference now visible in Florence, he said, "You ought to have

come here in Lent, when some of the Churches were filled with large congregations listening to eloquent preachers."

Those preachers were members of religious Orders, and produced an extraordinary effect; some of their sermons contained energetic denunciations against Protestantism, which were enthusiastically received[2]. But I do not think that they have produced any salutary effect of a permanent character on the faith and practice of the people.

I told him that I hoped he would not judge of us by what he heard in popular harangues against Protestantism. "But," said he, "you have no 'Capo Vivo della Chiesa.'" "Yes, we have, Christ Himself." "But not His Vicario?" "No; we do not find that the Church of Christ is built upon *One* Apostle, but 'on Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner-stone[3];' *not* upon *one* stone, but upon 'twelve stones[4];' and we know that St. Paul rebuked and resisted St. Peter,

[2] Some account of them was afterwards given in the Civiltà Cattolica for May 1862, p. 363.

[3] Eph. ii. 20.

[4] Rev. xxi. 14.

and S. Polycarp resisted Anicetus, Bishop of Rome; and S. Cyprian resisted Stephen, Bishop of Rome." "But," said he, "Augustine affirms that Cyprian expiated his error by martyrdom!" "Yes, expiated the error into which he had fallen in maintaining that baptism when conferred by heretics is no baptism at all; but Augustine does not charge Cyprian with error *because he resisted Pope Stephen;* indeed Augustine himself resisted two Bishops of Rome." "But," he replied, "if you read the Santi Padri, you will see your error." "We do read the Santi Padri, and I am inclined to believe that there are more copies of the Santi Padri in one 'vicolo di Londra' that I could mention, than in all the booksellers' shops of Florence." I had been in many of them, and had not met with a single copy of any. "Oh! but," he rejoined, "we buy them all, and we have S. Tommaso d'Aquino, and we all study him."

Drove in the evening to the Lung' Arno, and the Cascine: beautiful lights on the hills after a shower; the air so clear and transparent, that distant objects were visible almost in minute details.

CHAPTER XVII.

PISTOIA. SCIPIO DE RICCI'S ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION.

Saturday, June 7th.—Went this morning by railroad to Pistoia, the Episcopal See of Scipio de Ricci, whose endeavours to make reformations in the Church of Rome in Tuscany, under the Grand Duke Leopold, in the latter part of the last century, have given to his name a celebrity beyond the limits of Italy.

Scipio de Ricci was born at Florence on the 9th of January, 1741. His mother was of the noble family of the Ricasolis, which has derived new lustre in our own days from the administration of Baron Ricasoli, the successor of Count Cavour in June 1861.

Scipio de Ricci was educated in early life among the Jesuits, but he passed from their

hands into those of the Benedictines, and became one of the most energetic opponents of the Jesuits, and one of the most zealous advocates of Jansenism: he was advanced to the Episcopal See of Pistoia and Prato in the year 1780.

Scipio de Ricci convened his *Diocesan* Synod at Pistoia on September 18, 1786, in the Church of S. Leopold. Ricci was too ambitious of pre-eminence. He wished to be the head of a religious party. There was something of vain-glorious weakness on his part in taking the lead of his brother Bishops, and separating himself from them. Thus he damaged his own cause, created opposition, and brought obloquy on himself. Besides this, he incautiously mixed up the dogmas of Jansenistic theology with questions of religious reformation: in so doing, he wished to humble the Jesuits and the Papacy; he adopted some of the theological propositions which had been condemned in the Papal bull *Unigenitus*, and thus exposed himself to much animadversion on religious grounds.

His Synod consisted of 234 members, priests or theologians, and was attended by several

celebrated canonists. The Council had seven sessions, which were harmonious enough, and it was disposed to adopt the reforms which the Bishop proposed; but the Court of Rome exerted its influence on the nobility of Pistoia, and the opponents of Ricci were able to prevent the publication of the Acts of the Synod, under the plea that fifty-seven questions on the subjects discussed had been issued by the Grand Duke to the Bishops of Tuscany, and that their replies to those questions were far from being uniform; and "that a *National Council* of the Bishops of Tuscany was about to be summoned at Florence; and that it would be premature and inexpedient to promulgate any decrees of a *Diocesan* Synod (such as that of Pistoia), before the resolutions of the *National Council* of Florence were known."

That National Council of Florence was summoned on the 17th of March, 1787, and met at Florence on the 23rd of April in that year; three Archbishops were present, and fourteen Bishops.

This was a fatal step. The Bishops had *not been prepared* by previous conference and

deliberation. They had not had time to consider fully the questions proposed to them. The principles and usages of primitive Christian Antiquity had not been calmly and clearly presented to their view; they were not well versed in the history of the gradual progress of Papal usurpations on the rights of the People, the Clergy, the Episcopate, and the Crown. They did not know that the Canon Law of the Roman Courts, and of their own Ecclesiastical tribunals, is adulterated with many spurious decrees, which were interpolated by Roman Canonists, for the purpose of aggrandizing the Papacy, and ought to be expunged. They regarded the Papal Canon Law with almost as much reverence as the Bible. They brought to the Council all the prejudices derived from the study of that Papal Canon Law; which is grounded on the foundation of the false decretals and mediæval traditions that had taken deep root in the belief and practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

They came to the Council in the chains and fetters of oaths of vassalage to the Pope, by which they had bound themselves "to main-

tain the royalties of St. Peter against all men, and to persecute and wage war with all rebels against the Pope."

Besides, they were exasperated against Ricci personally, because, in their opinion, he had stolen a march upon them by his Synod of Pistoia; and they came together with a determination to crush him, and to reject his reforms, which they regarded as having an heretical tendency and schismatical character.

In addition to this, the questions submitted by the Grand Duke to the Bishops were so numerous and various, affecting some of the most difficult questions of theological doctrine, as well as concerning the minute details of Clerical studies and Ecclesiastical discipline, and long-established usages and ceremonies of Ritual and Worship, that the Bishops might well be alarmed at the prospect before them, and might suppose that they were threatened by a religious revolution.

Consequently, as might have been anticipated, Ricci and his Episcopal allies, the Bishops of Chiusi, Colle, and Soana, were overwhelmed by the votes of the other Bishops who were adverse to reformation. And when

the majority of Bishops had once *committed themselves publicly* by declarations in Synod against the proposals of the Grand Duke, it was vain to hope that they would afterwards recede from those resolutions, to which they had given a formal adhesion. They were obstinately fixed in a determination to resist all reformation.

The nineteenth and last Session of this Council of Florence was held on the 5th of June, 1787. After its close the Grand Duke Leopold published a Manifesto, in which he expressed his bitter disappointment at the result of its deliberations.

After the failure of the attempt at Florence, Ricci had little encouragement to persevere in his own efforts at Pistoia. Indeed, during the Sessions of the Council at Florence, the populace of his Diocese had been agitated by Papal emissaries, who persuaded the laity that their Bishop was infected with heretical opinions, and was determined to destroy the most sacred objects of their devotions; especially that he intended to demolish an Altar of the Cathedral at Prato, in which a *cintola*, or girdle, supposed to have been worn by the

blessed Virgin Mary, was preserved with religious veneration.

On the 20th of May, the mob of Prato rose in a riot of fanaticism, and proceeded to the Church where the altar was, and tore down the Bishop's throne and arms, and burnt them in the market-place of Prato; and illuminated the Church where the sacred girdle was, and displayed it to the reverence of its votaries. They also reinstated the images which had been removed by the orders of the Bishop, and burnt the books which he had distributed among his Clergy, and menaced the professors of his Ecclesiastical Seminary, and the priests of the Parishes who were supposed to be favourable to his views.

The publication of the Acts of the Synods of Florence and Pistoia, and the excitement produced by it in Italy and Europe, and the rupture which ensued between the Grand Duke Leopold and the Court of Rome, and the cabals of the Bishops of Tuscany, headed by the Archbishop of Florence, against Ricci, and their intrigues among the Clergy of his Diocese, many of whom abandoned their Bishop, and recanted their own subscriptions

to the Acts of the Synod of Pistoia, were followed by the death of the Emperor Joseph in February, 1790, and by the elevation of the Grand Duke Leopold to the imperial throne. Ricci was now isolated and disheartened; he retired from his Diocese, and resigned his Episcopal See: but Rome would not allow him to enjoy repose. The Pope, Pius VI., condemned the Acts of his Synod in the bull "Auctorem Fidei," promulgated on the 31st of August, 1794.

This Bull (which is appended to some recent editions of the Papal Canon Law[1]) contains no less than eighty-five articles on a great variety of questions of doctrine, discipline, and ritual, and shows clearly the indiscretion and rashness of Ricci in dogmatizing on so many matters, of such a miscellaneous character, and some of them of such difficulty and importance, without adequate preparation on his own part and that of his Clergy to pronounce upon them, and with still less disposition on the part of the people to accept their decisions.

[1] e. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, Appendix to Tom. ii. p. 146.

Five years afterwards Ricci was arrested at Florence by those loyalists of Arrezzo who had been exasperated by the excesses of the French revolutionists in Italy, and supposed him to be favourable to the Gallican cause. He was cast into prison in Florence, and from prison he was transferred to the Dominican Convent of S. Mark, where he is said to have found some comfort in the records there preserved of its former great preacher, the Florentine reformer, Savonarola, in whose cell he sometimes said Mass.

In the year 1805 Florence was visited by Pope Pius VII. on his return to Rome from Paris after the Coronation of Napoleon; and Ricci was induced by the Pope to sign a recantation, which was announced by Pius VII. with great joy in his Allocution to the Cardinals at Rome, in the secret Consistory of June 26, 1805[2]. Ricci died at Florence on the 27th of January, 1810.

A good history of Ricci's Episcopate would

[2] This Speech may be seen appended to recent editions of the Roman Canon Law, e. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 163; compare Carlo Botta's Storia d'Italia, Lib. xxii.

be of inestimable benefit at the present time. It would suggest many wholesome cautions and admonitions to those who may be led to engage in the work of Religious Reformation.

Ricci's attempts at Reformation were abortive, but even on that account they are fraught with warning and instruction to the present age. They indicate *what* is to be *avoided.* They show that Religious Reformation must not be attempted in a spirit of self-love and self-display: not with a view of gratifying personal vanity and private ambition, but with a single eye to the Divine glory. They show the importance of *considering well* where to *begin;* they show the necessity of *not* attempting too many things at once; and above all, of not alarming deeply-rooted prejudices, and of not exciting popular passions, especially in matters which relate to religious worship. The public mind must first be duly *prepared* by the diffusion of sound knowledge and intelligence, and must thus be enabled to *reform itself.* The failure of Leopold's and Ricci's attempts at Reformation seems also to afford additional proof that the true method of *beginning* such an undertaking at the present

time, would be, as has been already said, to deal first with matters of *discipline*, rather than of *doctrine*. If Ricci had not introduced the tenets of Jansenism into the Acts of his Council, but had limited himself to the Reformation of abuses in Ecclesiastical discipline and government, he would have been on safe ground. But by entering upon the region of polemical theology, he exposed himself and the Grand Duke to the suspicion of heresy, and thus frustrated the Grand Duke's attempts to put the discipline of the Church upon a better footing. The Pope would not have been able to withstand the efforts of the Tuscan Reformers, if they had carefully studied the records of the primitive Church from the times of the Apostles, and in the first four centuries, and if, when they had completely mastered that subject, they had begun with an appeal to Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity in matters of Church government, and with a strenuous endeavour to restore primitive Church discipline, which the Pope detested more than all the propositions of Jansenius.

The true method of conducting the work of

Reformation would be to recall the minds of the Clergy and the Nation to the principles and usages of the *primitive Church*, especially in the *appointment* of *Bishops*.

The vacancy of so many Episcopal sees in Italy at the present time, and of so many Ecclesiastical dignities, is a very favourable circumstance, which did not exist in Ricci's time. Let those vacancies be filled up with persons unfettered by trammels of bondage to the Papal See; and when a certain number of wise, learned, pious, loyal, and patriotic men has been appointed to Episcopal sees, and other Ecclesiastical dignities, and Parochial cures of Italy, and when the popular mind has been enlightened by sound teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and by the requisite knowledge of the doctrine and discipline of the Primitive Church,—especially the Primitive Church of Italy,—then it may be hoped that, with the Divine Blessing, religious Reformation will spring forth of itself, as a spontaneous development of the inner working of the Spirit of God in the heart and mind of the Church and Nation of Italy.

I visited the Bishop's Palace, a handsome

building erected by Scipio de Ricci in 1787. The See of Pistoia is now vacant. One of the Canons of the Cathedral (Monsignor Breschi) is acting as Vicario Capitolare, or Deputy of the Bishop. He has lately put forth a Pastoral, in which he exhorts the Clergy and People of the Diocese to rally round the Pope: he was holding his ecclesiastical Court in the Episcopal Palace.

Why should not a Bishop be appointed to the See of Pistoia, who, profiting by Ricci's mistakes, might resume the work of Reformation, and have a part in conducting it to a favourable issue?

I also visited his Seminary, or theological training College, nearly opposite to the Palace: it has a noble corridor, and beautiful garden; and there are now about 120 students. I was informed that the system of teaching now pursued was not in harmony with the principles of the present régime. Indeed this can hardly be expected, as long as the influence of Rome is what it is, and as long as the received text-books of theological Schools are what they are. At Rieti the pupils of the Bishop's theological Seminary displayed the *Papal*

escutcheon, on the anniversary of the Statuto; the Government shut up the Seminary, and sent the pupils home.

I had a letter of introduction to a celebrated person at Pistoia, Dom. ——, who is well known to the public as having been invited, and almost compelled, by the people of Pistoia to preach to them a series of sermons in the Cathedral last Lent; his eloquence, his high character, and his age,—and perhaps even his physical infirmity—he is nearly blind, but is very hale and vigorous—and his known hostility to the temporal power of the Papacy, brought the people to the doors of his house, which (as he informed me) they almost besieged with clamour and importunity, and at last he yielded to their solicitations, and went to the Cathedral, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. But though beloved and revered by the people, he is '*suspended*' by the present representative of the Bishop, and not allowed to hear Confessions. However, the Vicario Capitolare was obliged to allow him to preach, in order to avoid a popular insurrection!

Strange contrast! The people of Prato in

Ricci's time rose in rebellion, because they thought he was going to rob them of the 'miraculous girdle;' and this year the people of Pistoia, Ricci's Episcopal city, rose up in a fit of enthusiasm to do honour to a suspended Priest of the city, who makes no secret of his desire that the Pope should be divested of his temporal power.

This contrast is instructive. It shows that any thing may be done in the way of reforming the abuses of the Papacy, as to its claims to *temporal supremacy and dominion*, and its usurpation of *Ecclesiastical jurisdiction* in appointment of Bishops, &c., and that the People would look calmly on, as they have lately done at the spoliation of the Pope of a large part of his territories,—indeed they have been abettors of that spoliation,—and at the suppression of Monasteries and Nunneries; but they must be educated a great deal more than they now are in the vital truths of Christianity, before they will part with a single object of their devotion;—and when they *have been educated*, they will be the first to batter down the idols which they themselves have worshipped.

I had a long conversation with this venerable Ecclesiastic, and found that he was entirely of the opinion which is expressed above, that Ricci failed because he attempted too much at once, and did not begin with matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Jurisdiction, but entangled himself in polemical questions, and thus embarrassed himself and his cause. Besides, said he, Ricci was not a man of learning, and therefore he was not a match for the Pope's theologians.

Walked with him to see another friend: we were joined in our way by a Priest who had been suspended "a divinis" for his loyalty. "Siamo sagrificati dai nostra superiori," said he: we called together on another Ecclesiastic who is engaged in collecting materials for a history of Ricci and his times.

On this subject I will paraphrase a passage from a French writer[3], "In their plans for Reformation, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold, and the Bishop of Pistoia, Ricci, were not quite agreed. Leopold desired to

[3] Esprit de l'Église, De Potter, tom. v. p. 90. Paris, 1820.

nationalize the Church of Tuscany, and to emancipate it from the trammels of Rome,—to which it ought never to have been subject. Ricci aspired to be the leader of a religious party, and to humble the Papacy by achieving a triumph for Jansenism at the doors of Rome. By this imprudent measure he ruined the plans of his Master, the Grand Duke. The Pope condemned the dogmatic innovations of the Bishop, and in condemning them he censured also the disciplinarian attempts of Ricci's patron, the Grand Duke, which he feared and detested more than the Bishop's theology; and which he would not have dared to denounce publicly, for fear of exasperating both Princes and People, who had their eyes opened to the ambitious pretensions of the Court of Rome."

There is much truth in these remarks, and they deserve to be weighed well at the present crisis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Sunday, June 8th. Whitsunday.—After the English Service went to the Duomo. "Is there any sermon here to-day?" "No," was the reply, "but there is one at S. Gaetano,"—a neighbouring church. So to S. Gaetano I went. High mass was just over, and the candles were being put out; and a bell rung, and out of the Sacristy came forth a Dominican Friar, Padre ——, one of the leading men of the Order, attended by an acolyte, and mounted the Pulpit; knelt down toward a crucifix on his left, and he began his "conferenza," as it was called, being one of a series, on the "rights of man."

He commenced with a description of man's rights *before* the Fall, and with a statement of

the conditions of obedience to God, by which they were controlled; and then proceeded to speak of his condition *after* the Fall. How were his lost rights to be recovered? This question (he said) could only be solved by reference to the Bible, but "not (he added) to the Bible interpreted *according to each man's private sense*, as the Protestants teach us, but under the guidance of the Church. And Holy Scripture, thus explained, instructs us to look to Christ as our 'Reparatore.' The work of Restoration was effected by the Incarnation and Death of the Son of God; and we must avail ourselves of the benefits thus conferred upon us by God. And how are we to obtain these benefits? how are we to obtain pardon and grace? how are we to recover what Adam lost? How are we to regain heaven? The Protestants tell you that you have nothing to do but to look to Christ crucified,"—and then he turned to the crucifix in an attitude of adoration,—"and to apply to yourself the righteousness of Christ by faith, as they call it, and to assure yourself confidently that God imputes Christ's righteousness *to you personally*, and then,

they say, the work of salvation is done for you; you need nothing more. But the Catholic Church teaches, that you must lead a holy life, a life of obedience and self-sacrifice, that you must follow the example of Christ's life, if you would enjoy the benefits of His Death; you must be ready to do and to suffer for Christ, as those holy men did and suffered whom the Chief Pontiff ('il sommo Gerarca') is canonizing to-day and proposing to the veneration of the faithful at Rome (the Japanese Martyrs). But do not think that you may sacrifice your life recklessly,"—and then he uttered a strong protest and solemn warning against suicide;—"and you must be ready to give your goods to feed the poor: you must consider that nothing is your own, but that all things are common. Act in this spirit: imitate the first Christians. Do not however suppose that *property* is not authorized by Christianity:"—and then he made some good remarks against communism:—"but exercise the spirit of love as taught by the Catholic Church; she, and she only makes men charitable: in Protestant countries there is no true Charity. There the poor perish

with hunger, while their neighbours are rolling in wealth and revelling in luxury, and yet look on with indifference." He then appealed for the alms of the congregation, and a collection was made; and he informed them what would be the subject of the next conference, to which he invited their attendance. He then descended from the pulpit and disappeared. This Sermon was delivered with ease and dignity of manner; the style was clear and elegant, the utterance fluent, ready, and agreeable.

I felt rather disconcerted by the character he had given of Protestants to the congregation, and went to the Sacristy and asked, "Has the Preacher left the Church?" "Yes; he is 'rientrato nella casa del Priore.'" "Would you have the kindness to conduct me to him?" "Certainly." I was led through a gallery, up a staircase, and was introduced into an apartment, where the Preacher was taking coffee, with two other Priests, after the Sermon. The Priests retired, and left me with the Preacher. Having apologized for the visit, and having expressed the pleasure I had derived from a considerable portion of the

Sermon, I said I felt sure he would pardon me if, as a minister of the Church of England, I ventured to offer some respectful expostulations on certain statements in his discourse: "You said, I think, that the Protestant Communities have no rule for interpreting the Bible, but leave it to be twisted about by every man according to his caprice. This, I venture to assure you, is not the case with the Church of England. She knows that the *true sense* of the Bible *is* the Bible; and that a *false* sense is *not* the Bible, but a perversion of it; it is *man's* word put in the place of *God's Word:* the Church of England therefore not only places the Bible in the hands of her people, but she helps her people to *understand* it aright; she accompanies it with her Book of Common Prayer, in which are the three Creeds, and a Catechism, and Articles of Religion; and she says in her Articles, that 'the Church'—that is, the Church universal[1]—'has *authority* in Controversies of faith.' She asserts that the Church is the 'Keeper of the Bible,' and that no one

[1] Art. XX.

can prove the Integrity, Genuineness, and Inspiration of the Bible without the help of the Church. The Church of England defines the Canonical Books of Scripture to be those books which are 'generally *received in the Church*[2].'

"Besides, you said, if I remember rightly, that Protestants teach that a man will be saved if he can assure himself that he is favoured by God; and that he need not fear any thing if he can work himself up to a persuasion that God imputes to him the merits of Christ, and that this we call 'justification by faith.' Now let me be allowed to assure you, that the Church of England does not separate the doctrine of Justification from that of Sanctification, but teaches with St. Paul that 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord[3];' and I asked him whether he was acquainted with the works of our Bishops,—Bishop Bull on this subject?" To which he replied in the negative. He listened courteously to what was said, and then replied that if I had attended to his sermon I might

[2] Art. VI. [3] Heb. xii. 14.

have perceived that he had not once mentioned the *Church of England*, for which he professed much respect: he had said nothing at all of "la chiesa Anglicana," but that his remarks referred only to *those forms of Protestantism* which were known to the people of Florence, especially that of the *Waldenses* and their adherents, who, he said, "are very busy in making Proselytes, and circulating books against our Religion: they all appeal to the 'senso privato;' and in cautioning the people of Florence against Protestantism, I referred to those Protestants with whom alone the people of Florence are acquainted: how could I do otherwise?"

This statement suggested feelings of regret that the Church of England is not better known than it is in Italy; and that the notions which the Florentines have of Protestantism should be derived from a form of Religion, which is antagonistic in its operations, and which can hardly be expected to make a favourable impression upon them by its system of Church Polity, and Ritual.

I took occasion to offer a respectful remonstrance on the representation which the

Preacher had given of Protestant Philanthropy. "Are you aware that the people of England had proved their sympathy with the poor by legislative enactments which make all real property liable to contributions for the relief of the poor, and that thus a public regular provision is made for the succour of the indigent, in addition to the private beneficence which shows itself in the foundation and support of many charitable Institutions?" No, he was not.

We parted from one another with a friendly farewell on both sides, and I felt a strong persuasion, derived from the sober and serious tone of his sermon, and from the courteous gentleness of his manner, that we should have found many things in common between us; and I felt also an earnest desire that he had some better means than he seemed to possess of making an acquaintance with the English Church and Reformation.

I went in the evening to the Vaudois Church; a large upper room in the Via alla Vigna Nuova. About a hundred persons present. A portion of Scripture (Acts ii.) appropriate to the day (Whitsunday) was

read by a lay deacon from the Version of Diodati. The Sermon was an eloquent discourse in Italian by Pastor G——, dressed as a layman. He asserted explicitly the "Inspiration of Scripture" and the doctrine of the "lavacro di rigenerazione:" he said that the Holy Spirit is the true "Vicario di Gesù Cristo," and that Jesus Christ, not St. Peter, is the Rock of the Church. He spoke in somewhat disparaging terms of the "Power of the Keys," and inveighed in vehement language against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. He modestly acknowledged the shortcomings of their own congrègations, especially in the neglect of Common Prayer, to which the outpouring of the gifts of the Spirit was promised by Christ.

After the Sermon the preacher made a familiar address, in which he gave an account of various matters, which he supposed might be interesting to the congregation. Among these he mentioned that an English Clergyman would address them in the ensuing week, who had lately been to Rome to circulate tracts among the Roman Catholic Bishops then assembled for the canonization, and who

had been sent away by the Governor of Rome, Monsignor Matteucci, but not without an indemnity for the cost of the lodging he was obliged to quit, and of the tracts, which were confiscated by the authorities. A favourable specimen of Roman lenity. The prayer after the Sermon was a long rambling effusion by the Lay deacon.

Went afterwards to the Cascine: beautiful moonlight view of the Arno, and of the groves on its banks: fireflies flitting through the air, and glowworms twinkling on the ground.

CHAPTER XIX.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Whit-Monday, June 9th.—Before breakfast at our hotel we had a visit from a mendicant friar, a Capuchin with his sack slung over his shoulder; he was sad, like the Dominicans, at the prospect of the extinction of his order. Went to the Church of S. Spirito, hoping for a service there appropriate to the day: no Sermon—a florid *messa cantata.*

Went in the afternoon to the beautiful Baptistery, whose bronze gates by Ghiberti were said by Michael Angelo to be not unworthy to be gates of Paradise. Two women came into the Baptistery, bringing with them a baby to be christened, one of the women being the Godmother[1]; no other

[1] The Church of Rome *requires* one sponsor for every infant: a man for a male child, a woman for a female

person was present besides two Priests and myself.

The Priest, after breathing into the infant's face three times, made the sign of the cross upon it, and uttered a prayer; and then placed his hand upon its head, and uttered another prayer, and then exorcised the salt, ("exorcizo te creatura salis,") and put a particle of salt into the infant's mouth, and said another prayer, and then made the sign of the cross on the forehead of the child, and placed his hand again on the head of the child, and said another prayer; then he recited the

child: she admits two sponsors, i. e. a man and a woman for any child, but never two men or two women; nor ever the parent of the child; and she affirms that a spiritual affinity is contracted, by sponsorship, with the baptized person, and with the parents of the baptized person; which affinity precludes Marriage, and would dissolve it if it had been contracted. No Monks or Nuns may be sponsors.

In cases of danger of death, baptism may be administered, according to the Church of Rome, by any one whether priest, or layman, or woman, even though they be heretics, excommunicated, or unbelievers, "servatâ tamen formâ et *intentione Ecclesiæ*," which (in the latter instances) seems to be a hazardous and precarious supposition.

Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, together with the sponsor; and then proceeded to exorcise the Evil Spirit with a certain form of words; and then he put his finger into his own mouth, and touched with the saliva the ears of the infant, and said, "Ephphatha, quod est, aperire[2];" and then touched the nose of the child, and then addressed the appointed interrogatories to the sponsor, "Dost thou renounce the Devil, and all his works, and all his pomps?" He then dipped his thumb into the oil, and anointed the infant, and wiped the anointed places with cotton-wool; and then asked the sponsor "*Dost thou believe?*"

It is observable that the Church of Rome still retains the *Apostles'* Creed in the Sacrament of Baptism, as she does the Nicene Creed in the Holy Communion;—in neither case has she ventured to append the *Tridentine additions.*

The name of the child was then asked and given: the Priest did *not* receive the child into *his own arms*, but *while* the *sponsor* was *holding* the child, he poured water with a

[2] A bold application of the Divine words in Mark vii. 34.

ladle over it three times, in the form of a cross, the three affusions being made while he pronounced the names of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. He then anointed the infant's head with the chrism, and wiped the head with cotton-wool, and placed a white napkin on the head of the child, while he uttered the prayer, "Accipe vestem candidam quam immaculatam perferas ante tribunal Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam,"—a record of the white marriage-garment given at Baptism in the Primitive Church [3]. He then put into the hand of the Sponsor, representing the child, a lighted taper, saying "Accipe lampadem ardentem,"—another edifying reminiscence of the ancient practice of the Church, and of the term by which Baptism was called in the ancient Church—*illumination* [4]. The Priest then took pen and ink, and registered the Baptism in a book, and delivered a copy of the entry to the mother.

I inquired of one of the Priests whether *all*

[3] May the author be allowed to refer to his note on Matt. xxii. 11, 12?

[4] φωτισμός: see on Heb. vi. 4; x. 32.

the Baptisms of Florence were solemnized n this baptistery: if I remember rightly, he said that they were. "How many baptisms have you had to-day?" "Seven." "I suppose that the water is blessed." "Yes, by the Archbishop twice a year, on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve." "Is any fee required for baptism?" "None; but any one offers what he pleases."

We may be disposed to regret that some of the ceremonies here mentioned have not been retained by our own Church. But on the whole the effect of the administration of Baptism—as I saw it on Whit-Monday in this noble baptistery—was unsatisfactory. The Latin Prayers were muttered over by the Priest with unseemly haste, and were almost inaudible, and certainly would not be understood by the greater number of parents and sponsors, and there was no congregation present.

I think we may recognize the good sense of the Church of England in not being content with *one* Godfather or Godmother, and appointing that there should not be less than *three* sponsors: she thus provides that there

should never be a baptism solemnized in her communion, to which our Lord's words may not be applied, "Where *two* or *three* are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them[5];" and she thus secures a compliance with the Scriptural condition as to *witnesses*,—"In the mouth of *two or three witnesses* every word shall be established[6]."

I never was more strongly impressed with the value of a Liturgy in the *mother tongue* of the people than on this occasion. How much sound doctrinal and practical teaching is contained in the Baptismal Office of the Church of England, and how blessed and solemn is the effect of the united prayers of the congregation for the unconscious infant then received into the arms of Christ! When will the Church of Italy recover such privileges as these?

[5] Matt. xviii. 20.

[6] Deut. xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

END OF VOL. I.

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